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THE DEVELOPMENT OF GHANAIAN PENTECOSTALISM:

A Study in the Appropriation of the Christian Gospel in Twentieth Century
Ghana Setting with Special Reference to the Christ Apostolic Church, the
Church of Pentecost, and the International Central Gospel Church

By

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ABSTRACT

The study investigates the origins and development of Pentecostalism in Ghana with special reference to the **Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost, and the International Central Gospel Church**. The theological section explores the continuity and discontinuity between the movement's conception of *salvation* and the primal concept of *salvation*.

Part A looks at the Akan cosmology, the Akan concept of salvation, and the political, economic and social history of the Gold Coast/Ghana. It also examines some twentieth century Christian renewal movements in Ghana. Part B probes into the historical development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism and the Life and Faith of the movement, using the **Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost, and the International Central Gospel Church** as case studies. Part C examines the Ghanaian Pentecostal soteriology using the **Prayer Camps** as a case study. The author concludes that the search of the Pentecostals for *salvation* or *abundant life*, manifests a continuity with the Akan traditional religious aspirations: a search for *Salvation* in which health, prosperity, dignity, fertility, security, vitality, and equilibrium within the cosmos are dominant. It also manifests a radical discontinuity in its hostile stand against all traditional forms of supernatural succour. Aspect of the discontinuity between the two religious expressions is Pentecostalism's concern for the *paradise beyond*.

A related interest in this study is the investigation of the influence of socio-economic factors on the eschatological presuppositions and the evangelistic ethos of the Pentecostal churches. The evidence from the Ghanaian context has led us to the conclusion that the materials presented in this study **do not** corroborate the thesis that the expectation of the *parousia* declines in the older Pentecostal denominations as their economic circumstances improve. Our findings indicate that though the neo-pentecostals believe in the *parousia*, this has not featured prominently in their *kerygma*. This, we propose, is due to their avowed concern to address the existential issues facing Ghanaians. The evidence indicates that the *Prosperity* or *Abundant Life* Gospel as espoused by the neo-pentecostals, is an attempt to appropriate the biblical message of salvation to suit the contemporary socio-economic and religious experience of Ghanaians.

DEDICATION

To:

- a. My wife, Florence Naa-Bessa; my children: Godson, Jemimah, Kweku (Ben), and Nana Darko (James) for their unwavering support, sacrifice and love.
- b. The *Pentecostal Pioneers*: Peter Anim, James McKeown, Lloyd and Magaret Shirer, and several others whose devotion to "the heavenly vision" made possible the emergence and development of the Pentecostal movement in Ghana.
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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AEAM</i>	Association of Evangelicals of Africa and Madagascar
<i>AC</i>	Apostolic Church
<i>AG</i>	Assemblies of God
<i>APEA</i>	African Pentecostal Evangelistic Association
<i>CAC</i>	Christ Apostolic Church
<i>CAFM</i>	Christian Action Faith Ministries
<i>COP</i>	Church of Pentecost
<i>CSCNWW</i>	Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Non-Western World
<i>DHC</i>	Divine Healer's Church
<i>FLM</i>	Fountain of Life Mission
<i>GOC</i>	Grace Outreach Church
<i>GPC</i>	Ghana Pentecostal Council
<i>ICGC</i>	International Central Gospel Church
<i>IMB</i>	International Missions Board
<i>JPT</i>	Journal of Pentecostal Theology
<i>PENSA</i>	Pentecost Students and Associates
<i>PENTYEM</i>	Pentecost Youth Evangelistic Movement
<i>UPC</i>	United Pentecostal Church
<i>VBC</i>	Victory Bible Church
<i>IBMR</i>	International Bulletin of Missionary Research
<i>IRM</i>	International Review of Mission
<i>WCC</i>	World Council of Churches

PREFACE

Preamble

Since the beginning of this century, Christianity has witnessed the emergence of two great renewal movements of the Spirit: the Pentecostal Movement, beginning in 1901, and the charismatic movement that developed several decades later. ...These movements and their participants (both men and women, clergy and laity) have proclaimed that the spiritual power of the first century church can be the norm for Christians today. The impact of these movements has changed the face of Christianity around the world and ushered in a new era of Christian spirituality. In view of this, these movements merit careful investigation.¹

This observation holds true for Ghana and carries some scholarly implications.

For some time many scholars have tried to explain the phenomenon of new religious movements in Africa. The conclusion of these writers is that these movements have arisen in order to meet certain real and felt needs which the established churches could not meet. The writings of Sundkler,² Baeta,³ V.E.W. Hayward,⁴ Webster,⁵ Turner⁶ and Peel,⁷ are among the major works. These writers have indicated that the new religious movements as a religious phenomenon, are an attempt to relate the divine revelation to the needs, cravings and hopes of the people in what the adherents perceive to be religiously convincing. These churches seem to have taken the living God seriously in dealing with their present circumstances.

¹Burgess, Stanley M. and Gary B. McGee, eds; Patrick H. Alexander, associate ed., 1988. *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1.

²B.G.M. Sundkler 1961. *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*. London: Lutterworth; *Zulu Zion and Swazi Zionists*. London: OUP, 1976.

³C.G. Baeta 1962. *Prophetism in Ghana*. London: SCM.

⁴V.E.W. Hayward, ed. 1963. *African Independent Church Movements*, London.

⁵J.B. Webster 1964. *The African Churches Among the Yoruba 1888-1922*. London: OUP.

⁶H.W. Turner 1967. *African Independent Church*, 2 vols. London: OUP.

⁷J.D.Y. Peel 1968. *Aladura: A religious movement among the Yoruba*. London: OUP.

The foregoing works have concentrated mainly on the so called "prophet-healing" or "Zionist" type churches, ignoring another church type which falls within the new religious movements, i.e, the Evangelical Pentecostal Churches. In Baeta's work for instance, he left out what he himself admitted as "such important groups as the Apostolic Church of Ghana and its splinter body the Ghana Apostolic Church".⁸ The evangelical pentecostal movement has not attracted the kind of scholarly attention that **the prophet-healing** churches have attracted. For instance, though the evangelical pentecostal movement in Ghana started in around 1917, as at 1993, only two major scholarly articles had been written on this renewal movement.⁹

In Ghana at present, the growing edges of Christianity in its most vital and dynamic forms are found in the pentecostal-charismatic churches. One recent commentator states: "Pentecostalism, diverse though it may be, is by far the most important religious trend in Ghana at present".¹⁰ Another recent observer refers to them as "the big winners" in Ghanaian Christianity.¹¹ It is within this group, more than any other, that one sees vitality, growth, creativity and freshness in the adherents understanding and application of the divine revelation to the needs, fears and aspirations of the people, who at the same time maintain a deep devotion and commitment to the claims of Christ and the traditions of historic Christianity, particularly the doctrine of the atonement and reconciliation. It is our conviction that the movement's message of *salvation* has been largely determined by what the adherents perceive as the biblical view of salvation, and that this has been reinforced by the Akan primal world view. It is these two factors that have largely influenced the growth and development of the Pentecostal movement. The movement has therefore found a fertile ground in the primal world view, especially its view of the

⁸Baeta 1962, x.

⁹Robert W. Wyllie 1975. Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism. *Journal of Religion in Africa* VI:2: 109-122. James Anquandah 1979. Can the Church be Renewed? Experiences of an African Independent Church. *Ecumenical Review* 31: 252-260.

¹⁰Gerrie ter Haar 1994. Standing Up for Jesus: A survey of new developments in Christianity in Ghana. *Exchange* 23:3 (Dec.), 225.

¹¹Paul Gifford 1994b. Some Recent Developments in African Christianity. *African Affairs* 93: 373 (October), 526.

spirit-force.

The Purpose of the Study

The study investigates the historical origins, development and impact of the Pentecostal movement in Ghana with specific reference to the Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost, and the International Central Gospel Church. It also seeks to investigate, in the context of the movement's concept of **salvation**, the extent to which the "*primal imagination*"¹² has continued to persist in the minds of pentecostal-charismatic believers; whether there has been any paradigm shift; and if so the extent of the shift.

The doyen of pentecostal studies, Walter J. Hollenweger, raises in his book, *The Pentecostals*¹³, certain issues which are also of interest to us. The author points out that:

As social conditions improve the fervent expectation of the imminent second coming of Christ disappears. It is still taught in theory, but no longer a matter of experience. ... As the expectation of the second coming of Jesus declines in the older pentecostal denominations, new Pentecostal churches, which once again stress the second coming became necessary.¹⁴

Elsewhere, he also argues that the fervency of the Holiness and Pentecostal movements cooled down as the socio-economic status of the people improved. He again indicates that the numerical growth of the Pentecostal denominations declines as they grow older. This growth is then taken over by new Pentecostal churches. We will test some of Hollenweger's theses against the Ghanaian situation.

¹²Kwame Bediako uses the term "primal imagination" to mean "the abiding presence of the primal world view, as it occurs across a wide front, ranging from worshippers in a continuing primal religious system to Christian believers". Duff Lectures, 1992. Lecture II page 17. See his forthcoming book *Christianity in Africa*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995.

¹³W.J. Hollenweger 1972. *The Pentecostals*. London: SCM. Reprint, Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1988.

¹⁴Hollenweger 1988, 417.

The Scope of the Study and Methodology

Our study covers the evangelical pentecostal churches, which in our opinion are distinct from Turner's "Prophet-healing" and Sundkler's "Zionist" church types.¹⁵ We attempt to trace the historical origins, developments and impact of the Pentecostal movement in Ghana, using written records, interviews with surviving witnesses of the early beginnings, present leaders and members of the movement, questionnaires, and personal observations.

As a prelude to the study, we have provided a synopsis of the socio-economic background of the Ghanaian society from late colonial period to the present. We have also discussed the primal cosmology especially the concept and appropriation of salvation in the primal religious environment. This background data will help us to understand the extent to which the socio-economic conditions of the country and the primal religious traditions, especially the concept of salvation, have influenced the shape and form of the movement. This study is followed by an examination of a typology of some twentieth century renewals movements in Ghana. Part B is a detailed study of the origins and development of the Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost, and the neo-pentecostal movement. The Life and Faith of the Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost, and the International Central Gospel Church, are also discussed in this section. Part C examines the Ghanaian Pentecostal soteriology, using the Pentecostalist Prayer Camps as a case study.

¹⁵The two prominent features about these churches, according to Turner, are to be found in their "central beliefs about revelation from the Spirit through prophets and a practical salvation in which healing is prominent" (H.W. Turner. A Typology of African Religious Movements. *Journal of Religion in Africa* I (1968), 28.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF TWENTIETH CENTURY GHANAIA PENTECOSTALISM

THE PRIMAL COSMOLOGY AND THE CONCEPT OF SALVATION

One of the major factors to the remarkable success of Ghanaian Pentecostalism is that its cosmology and soteriology are in consonance with the primal concept of reality. The irrepressible nature of the ideas underpinning the primal religion has been underscored by Field when she said:

We may conclude, I think, that though it is not difficult by warfare, foreign administration, modern industry and other means, to smash up an ancient religious organisation, the ideas which sustained it are not easily destroyed. They are only disbanded, vagrant and unattached. But given sufficient sense of need, they will mobilize again.¹

Field's insight, *inter alia*, suggests the resilient nature of the traditional religious ideas of the people which the European colonisers and the Christianisation agencies encountered. These ideas have continued to influence the people's perception and understanding of reality.

Since the Akan form the largest ethnic group in the country, we will use their traditional religious ideas as a springboard in our attempt to examine the people's primal understanding of reality.² We believe the core of the religious ideas of the Akan could be equally applicable to the various peoples of the land, and indeed the fundamentals of the traditional African perception of reality as a whole.

The Akan World View

What is the Akan primal understanding of the nature of the universe and what does he consider to be the highest good of man, that is, *Salvation*? How is salvation

¹M.J. Field 1940. Some shrines of the Gold Coast and their significance. *Africa* 13:2 (April), 138.

²In Christaller's *Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Languages* (1933) he lists the inhabitants of Akim, Akwamm, Akuapem, Assin, Ashanti, Denkyira, and Warssaw as *Akans* speaking the Twi language. Williamson points out that "the Fante people, and such tribes as the Brongs of north Ashanti are also, however, from the point of view of language and tribal custom, political organization, and religious beliefs, *Akans*" (*Akan Religion and the Christian Faith*. Accra: GUP) x.

perceived and appropriated? What is the religious and linguistic meaning of salvation in the traditional Akan world view? We will attempt to address these questions in the following section.

Central to the Akan religious ideas is the belief in the multiplicity of spirits in the cosmic arena. The Akan cosmos, like other African peoples, is divided into "two inter-penetrating and inseparable, yet distinguishable, parts"³, namely, the world of spirits and the world of man. The Akan understanding of the spirit world conveniently falls within Parrinder's fourfold classification of categories within West African religions, the Supreme God, divinities or gods, ancestors, and charms or amulets.⁴

The Supreme Being is variously referred to as *Onyankopon*, *Onyame*, or *Odomankoma*.⁵ Next to *Onyame* is *Asase Yaa*, the earth goddess, who is responsible for fertility. *Asase Yaa*, in some sense, is also the "custodian of morality and social decorum, the traditional ethical code".⁶ In addition to *Asase Yaa*, there is a host of divinities or gods (*abosom*) capricious spirit entities, believed to be the children of God. These nature spirits are of three categories: state gods, family or clan gods, and gods of the medicine man. Some of the most famous gods are associated with lakes, rivers, mountains and forests. The continued featuring of a particular *obosom* in the religious pantheon of the Akan, largely depends upon the ability of that *obosom* to function to the satisfaction of supplicants. The Akan esteem the Supreme Being and the ancestors far above the *abosom* (gods) and amulets. Attitudes to the latter depend upon their success, and vary from healthy respect to sneering contempt and rejection.

³C.C. Okorocho 1987. *The Meaning of Religious Conversion in Africa*. Aldershot: Avebury, 52.

⁴E.G. Parrinder 1949. *West African Religion*. London, 16ff.

⁵The Akan designate the Supreme Being by three distinctive names, *Onyame* (often pronounced *Nyame*), *Onyankopong* (this like the *Nyame*, has other ways of spelling or pronouncing), and *Odomankoma*. *Onyame* implies the basic idea of Deity as understood in Christian theology. *Onyankopong* denotes the supremacy of God, the One Greater *Nyame*, or as Danquah has put it "Alone the Greater *Nyame*". *Odomankoma*, denotes the Infiniteness of *Nyame* (J.B. Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine of God*, p.30f cf. p.43).

⁶Okorocho, 52.

The Akan never confused the identity of *Onyame* and the identity of the *abosom*. The *abosom* can be discarded whereas *Onyame* cannot. Johannes Christaller, who devoted a considerable amount of effort to study the Akan language, had to conclude that the Akan, presumed by outsiders to be polytheists, were "to a great extent rather monotheist, they apply the term for *God* only to one supreme being".⁷ Patrick Ryan makes the same important observation in his article on the distinction of God from gods by the Yoruba and the Akan. He concluded that before the advent of the European missionaries, the Akan and Yoruba held to the absolute uniqueness of the Supreme God. He writes:

Finally, it should be noted, in the process of dismantling the category of 'God and the gods' in West Africa, that both the Yoruba and Akan populations of West Africa are better equipped linguistically than are Semites, Greeks, Romans and their inheritors to express the absolute uniqueness of God. There is no need for *Olodumare (Olorun)* or *Onyame (Onyankopon)* to arise above the "other gods", as Psalm 82 bids Him. It would seem, in fact, that even before Muslims and Christians arrived in the West African forest zone, ... speakers of Yoruba and Akan were assured of supremacy of the One Whom a modern theologian calls "the incomprehensible term of human transcendence."⁸

The ancestral cult is one of the strongholds within the religious universe of the Akan. This has been made possible because of the Akan understanding of man and the community.

The Akan Concept of Man and the Community

Homo sapiens is made up of body and soul. The soul, it is believed, is tripartite, made up of *mogya* (the blood of the mother), *kra* (a life-soul), and *sunsum* (a personality soul). Margaret Field refers to the *kra* as "soul" and the *sunsum* as

⁷J.G. Christaller 1881. *A Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language Called Tshi (Chwee, Twi), with a grammatical introduction and appendices on the Geography of the Gold Coast and other subjects*. Basel: Evangelical Missionary Society, 342f. Quoted by Kwame Bediako 1992. *Theology and Identity* Oxford: Regnum Press, 291f.

⁸Patrick J. Ryan 1980. "Arise, O God!" The Problem of 'Gods' in West Africa. *Journal of Religion in Africa* XI, 3, 169.

the "mind, spirit".⁹ It is the *sunsum* that assumes the role of a witch. A person's *sunsum* may leave the body in dreams or in mind wandering but the *kra* cannot do this without causing fatal consequences, possibly illness or death. It is the *kra* that witches attack. The effects of the activities of witches on the *kra* are well stated by Field:

...If the witches steal away a man's *kra* and cut it up, he becomes mortally sick. If they then relent, reassemble the parts and restore him, he recovers. If, however, they have already eaten, say a leg, and hence cannot restore it, he recovers except for a permanently useless leg. If the witches steal only that part of the *kra* corresponding to the womb or the penis, the victim becomes either barren or impotent¹⁰

The *kra* is a spark of *Nyame*. It is of the nature of fire and gives life to the mother's blood as it flows in the foetus, thus imparting life to the baby.¹¹ The *sunsum* or *ntoro*, is the father's contribution to the life of the baby and represents his individuality. These two elements of the human personality must live in harmony. The *kra* expresses itself through the *sunsum*. At death the *sunsum* lives on in the other world with full consciousness whereas the *kra* returns to *Nyame*. Each *kra* is "in direct touch with God". It is therefore pure and it is given a mission to fulfil in the life-time of the individual. It is believed that if the *kra* fails to fulfil its earthly mission (*nkrabea*) prior to the death of an individual, it must go through the process of reincarnation until this divinely-given mission is finally achieved.¹² Any disharmony between the two aspects of the human personality leads to sickness. The pure part, the *kra*, would in this case leave the *sunsum*, which has been stained.¹³ The sanctity and satisfaction of one's *kra* is secured through occasional ritual bath of

⁹Margaret J. Field 1960. *Search for Security*. Faber and Faber: London, 6.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Eva Meyerowitz 1960. *The Divine Kingship of Ghana and Ancient Egypt*. London, 104.

¹²J.B. Danquah 1968. *The Akan Doctrine of God*, 2nd edition. London, 68, 82f, 94f.

¹³Danquah, 86f.

the *kra* and a ritual meal given to the *kra*.¹⁴ Sawyerr has beautifully likened the relationship between body, soul and spirit to a steam engine. He writes

The total machine is the engine. But its performance depends on (a) steam for its power and (b) the pistons etc, for its movement. The steam is of course always pure but if the pistons are out of good repair then the steam is wasted and the engine loses potential power. All the time the steam remains pure *in se*.¹⁵

The concept of man makes sense in the context of the community. The Akan, irrespective of his social standing, lives his life first and foremost as a member of a community and next as an individual. It is in the context of the community that the individual makes sense. His family, his clan or his tribe come first and himself as an individual, second. His activities may be personal but hardly individual. His whole life is expected to be directed towards the total well-being of the community of which he is an integral part. The various rites performed at the major crises of life: birth, adolescence, marriage and death are communal. Death does not sever one's relationship with his community though he is physically separated from it. It is within this communal sensibility that the ancestral cult finds a fertile ground.

The heads of the families, clans and tribes continue to function as such in the spirit realm. Their support, it is believed, is crucial for the well-being of the community. Their presence is therefore solicited in any communal celebration. In terms of the role of the ancestors in the communal life, Nana Addo Dankwah III, observes that "the Akans regard the ancestors still as heads and parts of the families or communities to which they belonged while they were living human beings".¹⁶

Since survival of man and his community is dependent upon the help given by

¹⁴These rituals are performed by the individual. In a more elaborate ritual meal, friends and relatives may be invited to feast with the person concerned.

¹⁵Harry Sawyerr 1972, *Soteriology viewed from the African perspective*. Nairobi: WSCF. Quoted from page 4 of the original manuscript of Sawyerr. See forthcoming *Practice of Presence: Shorter Writings of Harry Sawyer*, J. Parratt, editor. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995.

¹⁶Oseadeeyo Nana Addo Dankwa III 1990. *Christianity and African Traditional Beliefs*, New York: The Power of the Word Press. Quoted by Kwame Bediako in *Christianity in Africa: The Recovery of a Non-Western Religion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, forthcoming 1995.

the ancestors and the divinities, how man relates to the spirit force is crucial to his well-being. The idea of the cosmic struggle is strong in the Akan understanding of the nature of the universe. For man to fulfil his aspirations requires the "balance of power" for the benefit of the supplicant. This "tilting of power" inherent in the spirit force, for the benefit of humanity, is what we have referred to as *maintaining the cosmological balance*.

The Cosmological Balance

Within the world of man are found men and women who manipulate the spirit force for evil purposes. These are the *akaberekyerefo* and *adutofo* (charmers, enchanters and sorcerers), and *abayifo* (witches). The activities of these forces are directed against man. It is within this context that charms and amulets play their role.

The forces of evil are always at work against man in order to prevent him from enjoying abundant life, or fulfilling his *nkrabea* (destiny). The central focus of his religious exercises is therefore directed towards the harnessing of power inherent in the spirit force for his own advantage. Power here is not sought for its own sake but rather as a means of enjoying abundant life.

The postulation of external hostile agencies more powerful than man becomes understandable in an environment where man sees himself constantly exposed to the influences of evil supernaturalism (real or imagined); foreign domination and despoilment, and natural disasters of all sort. Sawyerr, following Placide Tempels, has well indicated that these:

Experiences are all interpreted as instances of a diminution of power, each caused by the influence of another power greater than or hostile towards men. But man is in himself a "power". So if one succeeds in any undertaken it is because "one has a 'power' of a higher order than the evil "wills" that permeate the world".¹⁷

To the Akan, just like other African peoples, whatever happens to man has a religious interpretation. To them, behind the physical is the spiritual, and behind the

¹⁷Harry Sawyerr 1972. *Soteriology viewed from the African perspective*. Nairobi: WSCF. Quoted from page 6 of the original manuscript of Sawyerr. See forth-coming *Practice of Presence: Shorter Writings of Harry Sawyer*, ed. John Parratt; cf. P. Tempels 1959. *Bantu Philosophy*. Paris: Presence Africaine, page 30ff.

seen is the unseen. Every event here on earth is traceable to a supernatural source in the spirit realm. From the same source therefore lies his ultimate succour.

It is the foregoing picture that colours the perception and appropriation of the concept of **salvation** of the Akan. Herein lies the ultimate goal of their religious pursuits.

In Search of Salvation

As one critically examines the prayers of the Akan in the traditional religious milieu, he cannot help but come to the conclusion that the overriding concern is the enjoyment of **nkwa**, (life). This is not life in abstraction but rather life in its concrete and fullest manifestations. It means the enjoyment of long life, vitality, vigour, and health; it means life of happiness and felicity.¹⁸ **Nkwa** also includes the enjoyment of **ahonyade**, (prosperity), that is, wealth, riches, and substance,¹⁹ including children. **Nkwa** also embodies **asomdwei**, that is, a life of peace and tranquillity, and life free from perturbation.²⁰

Man is well aware that much as he works hard to experience **nkwa** in its full manifestations, he also realises the fact that there are powerful forces who are fighting against him. This can only become available to him through the mediation of the spirit beings - divinities and the ancestors. Unto these beings therefore, he constantly lifts up his eyes in an expectation of succour. We illustrate this with two sample prayers.²¹

¹⁸Christaller 1933, 277.

¹⁹Ibid., 186.

²⁰Ibid., 468.

²¹In choosing prayer as a means by which we may adequately understand what the Akan perceives as salvation, that is the goal of man's religiousness, we are following Okorocha and others, in asserting that prayer is the key to the understanding of people's perception and interpretation of reality. It is through prayer that we enter into the heart of the total ideas of what constitute a people's belief system. Okorocha summed up the position thus:

*In prayer, we go beyond immediate experience to assert the sum of total experience- the summum bonum and totality of man's desiring....
...It is in prayer that we discover the deepest and most spiritual as well*

Nana Addo Dankwa III, the current *Omanhene* (paramount chief) of Akuapem, gives this as a sample prayer for the outdoorings of a baby.

Here is water, our revered ancestor; we have invited you this morning to come and help us in outdoorings your grandson. As you know, we cannot undertake such an important customary rite without your participation; you are therefore welcome to assume your role as Abusua Payin (head of family) to supervise this rite. O Busumburu, on behalf of our ancestor, I am calling you as the clan god to bless this family; we ask for long life and prosperity. We commit this child, about to be named, to your care; give him long life and let him be a good man to the glory of his family. Long life for all the members of the family; blessing to our ancestor(s).²²

The following sample prayer is said by the *paterfamilias* during an occasion like New Year or Christmas.

Almighty God here is drink; Earth god here is drink; Great ancestors come and have a drink. We are not calling you because of some evil tidings. The year has come again and you did now allow any evil to befall us. We are offering you drink, beseeching that the coming year will be prosperous. Don't allow any evil to come near our habitation. Bless us with rain, food, children, health and prosperity.²³

Rattray gives us another example from the prayers of an Ashanti king at an annual festival:

... The edges of the years have met, I pray for life.
May the nation prosper.
May the women bear children.
May the hunters kill meat.
We who dig for gold, let us get gold to dig, and grant that I get some for the upkeep of my kingship.²⁴

as mundane aspirations of religious men. It is the altar of prayer that we find the sum of all his desiring - that is salvation. Therefore a phenomenological approach to the heart of his religion, for the purpose of understanding the meaning of salvation for him is one that chooses to join him at the altar of prayer (Okorocha 1987, 51, 52).

²²Oseadeeyo Nana Addo Dankwa III 1990. *Christianity and African Traditional Beliefs*. Quoted by Kwame Bediako in *Christianity in Africa: The Recovery of a Non-Western Religion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, forthcoming 1995.

²³My personal observation.

²⁴R. Sutherland Rattray 1927. *Religion and Art in Ashanti*. London, 138.

These prayers, like many other prayers found among the various ethnic groups of Ghana, illustrate the concerns of the Akan and the need for vital power which subsists in the Supreme Being and the non-human spirit entities.

Beckmann commenting on the Ashanti king's prayer cited above, comments:

There was no self-abnegation in the king's prayer. He called for power, life, prosperity, fertility, success, and wealth. The vitality of West African religion may have been one reason why Afro-American slaves were able to survive capture, brutal transport to the Americas, slavery - and still keep dancing.²⁵

The ultimate end of man's existence is the enjoyment of multifaceted *nkwa* but he knows from experience that left to him alone it will only remain an illusory dream for the obvious fact that there are some forces, yea, mighty ones, fighting hard to remove *nkwa* from his reach.

The uncertainties and anxieties he faces range from those which originate from the day to day problems of life to those which are born of the fear of evil spirits and malicious persons, witches and sorcerers. To maintain and reactivate the protective presence of the benevolent divine force, he must of necessity maintain the cosmological balance through protective and preventive rites. These rites are designed to cleanse the tribe, the clan, the family and the individual, and to secure the much needed *protection* from the spirit force. **Protective rites** immunise potential victims from *abayifo* (witches), *akaberekyerefo* and *asumantufo* (sorcerers, charmers and bad medicine men) and evil spirits on the one hand, and on the other, **purificatory rites** which remove the danger-radiating pollution which would ordinarily destroy the personhood of the individual concerned, and thus prevent him from fully participating in *nkwa*. The ancestral rites seem to fulfil both protective and purificatory categories. The ancestors are both appeased in case they are offended and petitioned to support as well as protect their descendants.

The societal equilibrium is thus maintained and preserved through the purificatory and protective rites and the observance of certain prescribed taboos. Violations of these demands may cause serious consequences to the individual, his family or an entire community. Man realises that, in spite of the constant efforts he

²⁵D.M. Beckmann 1975. *Eden Revival*. London: Concordia, 17.

makes in order to bring meaning into his life, things do go wrong. When this happens, he goes to *abisa*. He contacts the spirit force in the spirit realm to find out what might have caused the problem. It is through the *abisa*²⁶ that he is able to remove what would likely prevent him from enjoying, *nkwa* which embodies *ahonya*, and *asomdwei*. It is to the religious specialist, the diviner, that he goes for *abisa*. He needs to know the forces behind the problems or the factors that might have occasioned his woes. This information is relevant to him in order to be able to arrest the situation. The information he obtains from the diviner may require that he performs some protective rites to secure protection against his enemies. It may also require that some purificatory rites be performed in order to appease the ancestors or the divinities for some particular reason.

Some purificatory and protective rites may be very elaborate and expensive. These expensive cases involve particularly matters that have been taken to the court of the gods in seeking for vengeance or vindication. The more powerful the particular deities are, the more expensive and elaborate the processes for disentanglement. In spite of the costs, victims do everything possible to raise the required money for it. If for one reason or the other one fails to do this, the "curse", it is believed will still be hanging over the upcoming generations of the family. This **ancestral yoke** will remain in the family until it is eventually removed by a relative. It is there and then that *nkwa* could become theirs.

The Akan Terms for Salvation

The main Twi term for 'Salvation' is *nkwagye*. It is made up of two words: *nkwa* and *gye*. *Nkwa*, as we indicated above, means vital life, vitality, vigour, health, happiness and felicity. In short *nkwa* means **abundant life**, i.e., **life in all its fullness**. *Gye* has several meanings,²⁷ but when used in the salvific sense it means to: rescue, retake, recapture, redeem, ransom, buy out of servitude or penalty;

²⁶*Abisa* is a religious term, implying "asking" or obtaining or seeking information on a particular issue, from the spirit realm, the religious specialist (diviner, medicine man, or traditional priest). "Go to *abisa*" therefore means consulting the diviner in order to obtain information on a particular issue (s).

²⁷Christaller 1933, 156.

it also means to release, to free, to deliver, to liberate, to save. It could also mean: to lead, to conduct, to guide, to take along with; or to protect, to defend; or to preserve.²⁸ The term *nkwa-gye* therefore is pregnant with rich meaning. Among other things, it means **"the liberation or preservation of abundant life" or the "saving of abundant life"**. It is **the liberation and preservation of life and all that goes with it.**

The *nkwagyefo* (the one who saves) therefore is the one who saves and preserves or protects one's life. The related terms are the nouns *agyenkwa* and *ogyefo*. These are synonyms. They mean the rescuer, saviour, redeemer, deliverer. Whether used in reference to a deity or to a human being, it conveys the same meaning of deliverance. For example in a situation where the timely intervention of a person prevented a catastrophe or something unfavourable from happening, that person could be said to have become *ogyefo or agyenkwa* in that particular instance.

The term *Agyenkwa* and its cognates therefore, convey concrete realities. The *Agyenkwa* is a powerful one, otherwise he cannot rescue and protect one from the powerful malevolent spirit beings: the *abayifo*, *akaberekyerefo*, *adutofo* and the *awudifo* (wicked forces). He saves from danger and all perilous conditions. The *Agyenkwa* places one in the **"realm of the protected ones"** and offers *banbo* (security). The *Agyenkwa* rescues or takes one out of situations considered dangerous, inimical or life threatening. The *Agyenkwa* saves, protects, and preserves life.

The **saviour** rescues from danger. He also protects the **rescued one** from danger, and makes it possible for him to experience *nkwa*, that is, **life in all its fullness**, which embodies *ahonyade*, and *asomdwei*. It is in this vein that Mercy Oduyoye could state that the

...Agyenkwa means the one who rescues, who holds your life in safety, takes you out of a life-denying situation and places you in a life affirming one. The Rescuer plucks you from a dehumanizing ambience and places you in a position where you can grow toward authentic

²⁸Ibid.

humanity. The Agyenkwa gives you back your life in all its fullness.²⁹

In the primal concept, there is no concept of *original sin*. One is not born with sin. The issue of *original sin* is therefore foreign in the primal dogma. Mbiti's comments on this issue are perceptive:

... The question of original sin is ... out of place as far as African Religion is concerned. Similarly the question of salvation from moral evil is also out of question. African Religion in this respect, did not produce the concept of spiritual redemption or salvation.³⁰

The saviour does not help one to overcome moral evil. The particular individual or community must perform the necessary purificatory rites to make amends with the gods or the ancestors, in order to remove the danger-radiating pollution which would ordinarily destroy the personhood of the individual with its consequential effect on the community as a whole. Through the prescribed rites, one is able to place himself in the protective realm -- the situation where he could call upon the salvific works of the benevolent spirit force.

In the foregoing considerations of the Akan concept of *Salvation*, we have stated that salvation has to do with concrete realities, things he can identify with in his day to day existential life. It has to do with physical and immediate dangers that militate against individual or communal survival and enjoyment of *nkwa*, that is, **life in all its fullness**. It embodies *ahonyade* (good health, general prosperity and safety and security); it also embodies *asomdwei* (the state of being which radiates peace and tranquillity). This is the general context within which salvation is perceived and appropriated. It is this world view that Christianity encountered.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE GOLD COAST/GHANA FROM 1917

The earliest missionaries to the Gold Coast were the Roman Catholic Franciscan Friars who accompanied the Portuguese traders in 1482. The primary aim of these missionaries was not to evangelise the country as such. They came as

²⁹Mercy Oduyoye 1986. *Hearing and Knowing*. Maryknoll: Orbis, 98.

³⁰J.S. Mbiti 1974. Some reflections on African experience of salvation in *Living faiths and ultimate goals*. Geneva: WCC, 113.

chaplains to the Portuguese traders. Nothing substantial was left after the departure of the Portuguese. Some few Anglicans in the eighteenth century made attempts to introduce Christianity into the country but nothing notable came out of their efforts. Permanent missions were not established until 18th December 1828, when four missionaries of the Basel Society came to the Gold Coast.³¹ They initially settled at Christianborg, Accra, and later moved to Akwapim ridge because of climatic reasons. The Basel Missionaries were followed in 1835 by the Wesleyans. They established their station at the Cape Coast, the Central Province.³² The German Bremen Society came in 1847 and settled in the Trans-Volta area.³³ The Roman Catholic missionaries followed in 1881 and settled at Elimina.³⁴ In 1898, the African Methodist-Episcopal Zion Mission, an African-American group followed. The Anglicans came in 1906.³⁵ The World Wars disrupted mission activity in Ghana. The German Basel missionaries were expelled from the country in 1917, after the deportation of Bremen missionaries in 1916 from the Trans-Volta area. For a short while their institutions were left without management until 1919 when the Scottish Mission arrived to take over the

³¹The four men were three Germans, Karl F. Salbach, Gottlieb Holzwarth, Johannes Henke, and a Swiss, Johannes Gottlob Schmidt.

³²The Wesleyans were strong in the Central and Western Provinces and in Ashanti. It had, in 1931, 44 African ministers and 427 catechists.

³³The Bremen Mission worked in the colony and in south Togoland. During the 1914-1918 War, and also in 1939. The Scottish Presbyterians relieved the Germans of their responsibility. The Evangelical Presbyterian Church developed out of this mission. It had 92 schools in Togoland. The Scots built other schools in the colony.

³⁴The Catholic missions in the Central Province, Western Province, Ashanti and Togoland, were directed with the help of two Orders of nuns who did some work in education and child welfare. The White Fathers came to the Northern Territories in 1906. In 1939 there were 117 priests, 57 sisters, and 182 schools and 12 dispensaries for the entire country (Report of the Vicariates of the Gold Coast (1939), quoted by F.M. Bourret 1960. *Ghana: The Road to independence 1919-1957*. London: OUP, 132).

³⁵The first efforts of the Anglicans to Christianise the country in 1752 failed. They returned in 1906 and were at this time, able to establish their form of Christianity in the country. They opened secondary and primary schools in various parts of the Colony and Ashanti. The Bishop lived in Accra (Cooksey and McLeish, *Religion and Civilisation in West Africa*, p.143. Quoted by Bourret, 132).

institutions. Although the deportation of the Germans was regarded necessary for the conduct of the war, Governor Guggisberg of the Gold Coast, later described it as "the greatest blow which education in this country has ever suffered".³⁶

When the Basel missionaries returned to the Gold Coast in 1926, various efforts were made by representatives of both missions to foster closer co-operation and understanding between the missionaries of the two missions.³⁷ The internment of the German nationals of both Basel and Bremen missions in 1939 during World War II again saw the Scottish Mission assuming full responsibility of the Ewe Presbyterian Church.³⁸

Denominational competition became a subtle problem for the churches. The Wesleyans began their work at Cape Coast, and although they were active in the rural areas, their main strategy was to settle first in the large urban centres before moving into the interior. Smith notes that when the Wesleyans began to spread from Accra into what was considered the traditional Basel Mission field in the Akwapim and Akim, this for some time caused much concern in the Basel circles. Discipline was made more difficult as "Presbyterian members under censure often made their way to the rival mission".³⁹ Another point of conflict was the use of the English language in the Wesleyan schools as opposed to the use of the vernacular by the Basel Mission. The use of the English is said to have attracted some of the young people to the Wesleyans.⁴⁰

³⁶Guggisberg, *The Gold Coast: A Review of the events of 1920 - 26*, para. 198, quoted in McWilliam, 46. The disruptive effect of the World War I on education was limited mainly because of the timely intervention of the Scottish missionaries. In spite of the war setbacks, between 1913-19 fifty-nine new schools were opened, with enrolment increasing by 8,500, representing a one-third increase in the number of schools, and the number of pupils by half (McWilliam, *ibid.*).

³⁷Noel Smith 1966. *The Presbyterian Church of Ghana, 1835-1960*. Accra: Ghana University Press, 194. The various missionaries came under the authority of the Church in the 1950s.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 196.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 141.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

The 1880s saw the Roman Catholic Missions competing for members in the original territories of the Wesleyans and Basels. Within twenty-five years, the Roman Catholics established stations at Elmina, Cape Coast, Accra, Keta and Navrongo. "Thus from the east and west sides of the country the Roman Catholics entered the traditional Basel and Wesleyan spheres of activity".⁴¹

The Growth of the Churches

By 1918 the churches had taken roots especially in the southern parts of the country. The Presbyterian Church synod for example reported that there were 11 central stations and there were congregations in almost 200 hundred towns and villages, led by 30 African pastors, a host of catechists and teachers, and a total Christian community of 30,000.⁴²

By 1937 the major churches had achieved a remarkable growth. Their relative strength may be gauged from the following statistics:

Denominations	Estimated Number of Followers	Number of Chapels
English Church M.	24,000	270
Methodist	125,225	767
Presbyterian	58,454	286
Roman Catholics:		
Colony-Ashanti	106,453	696
Lower Volta	36,383	191
Northern Terr.	24200	24
Ewe Presbyterian	27000	137

⁴¹Ibid. Smith notes that "There was no official contact between these three church bodies during this period apart from their mutual concern with education, and, in Ashanti in 1912, their combined pressure upon the Government to regulate the question of swearing native oaths and of customary obligations" (Smith, 141).

⁴²Ibid., 154.

Salvation Army	6,386	160
AME Zion	7064	87
Baptist	6000	54

SOURCE: F.M. Bourret. 1960. GHANA: *The Road to Independence*. London: OUP, 132. Cf. *Gold Coast Hand Book*, 1937, 28.

The Missions and Literacy Development

Western forms of education in the Gold Coast were for a long time championed by western European Christian missions as an aid to the Christianisation process, at times aided by grants from public funds. There were few government schools.⁴³ Bourret correctly mentions that

The mission schools alone bore the burden of educational work during the greater part of the nineteenth century. The government began to take some responsibility in the matter, when in 1882 an ordinance was passed which provided for a board of education, official inspection, and grants-in-aid for satisfactory institutions. In the following years the administration established a few schools, and in 1909 it opened a technical institute and a normal training college at Accra.⁴⁴

It must however be mentioned that western educational patterns had been introduced into the country before the arrival of the Basel and Wesleyan missionaries. Those who benefited from this included some of the coastal people connected with the forts, "princes given as pledges of good faith to be educated", and some "slaves who were fortunate to fall into good hands". At the coming of the Basel and Wesleyan missions, education was extended beyond the domain of the privileged. It became available to the ordinary person. Those along the coast and in the hinterland could now acquire western forms of literacy on the acceptance of the Christian religion.⁴⁵

⁴³ S.G. Williamson 1952. Missions and Education in the Gold Coast, *International Review of Missions (IRM)* 41: 364-73; Dougall, J.W.C.: Religious Education, *IRM* 15 (1926): 493-505; The Relationship of Church and School in Africa, *IRM* 26 (1937): 204-214; Education and Evangelism, *IRM* 36 (1947): 313-23.

⁴⁴Bourret, 133f.

⁴⁵S.K. Odamtten 1975. *The missionary factor in Ghana's development*. Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 135f.

It is clear that the Christian missions for a long time kept the lead in the provision of western forms of education in the country. Until 1950s the Government maintained a limited involvement in education. It commenced in 1886, with the establishment of a girls' school at Cape Coast and boys' school at Accra. A third school was sited at Oda in 1896. Between 1900 and 1919 new Government schools were opened, including a second girls' school in Accra in 1907. In 1909 a revision of the educational system under Governor Rodger led to the establishment of Accra Technical School, and Accra Training College. Until 1920 it was the only government teacher training college in British West Africa.

When Guggisberg assumed the governorship of the Dependency in 1919, there were 19 government schools, 194 assisted mission schools, and some 400 unassisted schools. The budget for that year set aside £54,442 for educational purposes, but Guggisberg considered this not enough. Guggisberg, who believed education was the "keystone to progress", was the first colonial governor to remove education from the fringes of the colonial policy into the centre. It became high on his agenda for development of the Dependence. His sixteen principles of a higher education standard included the provision of more fully qualified teachers; the inclusion of agricultural and technical, as well as literary subjects in the curriculum; organised games in schools; and opportunities for girls and boys. Religious and character training was made the bedrock of the whole system of education. The government passed an ordinance in 1925 requiring higher qualifications of non-assisted schools and their staffs if they were to remain operational. This ordinance came into force in 1927 and it led to the untimely closure of some schools and this brought about much criticism by the nationals and missionaries. The argument was that it was unrealistic to close down some schools when there were not many approved schools which could meet the educational needs of the country. To meet the need for trained teachers to facilitate the opening of more approved schools the government initiated a two-year and a four-year course for rural teachers. It also encouraged more training centres by grants-in-aid. The missions were therefore able to expand and by 1938 the country had seven normal training institutions.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Ibid., 134

The Wesleyan Mission by 1880 had 83 schools with an enrolment of 3000 pupils. In the same period, the Basel Mission also had established 45 schools, having 1200 pupils on enrolment.⁴⁷ In 1959 the total national enrolment in approved primary and middle schools was 205,274. The share of the large educational units was:⁴⁸

Roman Catholic	122,470
Presbyterian (including EPC)	112,793
Methodist	110,862
Anglican	25,913

The schools became the main recruitment ground for church membership. In consequence, the schools and churches became interdependent in the Christianisation process.

The Basel Mission established boarding schools in the Akwapim district of the Eastern Province, and Christianborg, Osu-Accra. The Basel Mission school at Akropong-Akwapim later developed into a college for the training of teachers and catechists. This remained the only teacher training college in the country until 1909, when Accra Training College, was opened by the government. In 1922, the Wesleyan mission opened Wesley College at Aburi (Akwapim district) for the training of teachers and preachers belonging to the mission. It was relocated in Kumasi in 1924.

In Central Province, the Wesleyans opened their boys school, the Richmond School, in 1876. This was later renamed Mfantsipim. They also opened Wesley Girls' High School. The English Church Mission in 1910 opened Adisadel College as SPG Grammar School, for boys.⁴⁹ It later opened a girls' school. Cape Coast thus emerged as a major educational centre. The schools here were among the best secondary schools in the country by 1925. In addition to the other schools operated by the Basel Mission, it also had vocational schools which trained skilled tradesmen of all sorts, including training in agriculture.

⁴⁷ H.O.A. McWilliam 1959. *The Development of Education in Ghana*. London: Longmans, 18f.

⁴⁸ Educational Statistics 1959, Series I, no. 6, p.27, Government statistician, Accra. Quoted by Noel Smith, 165.

⁴⁹ C.K. Graham 1971. *The History of Education in Ghana*, London: Frank Cass, 153.

The Missions and Medical Work

The churches also carried out medical work. An out-patients clinic was pioneered at Aburi by Dr Rudolf Fisch in 1885. Later, in addition to a dispensary, accommodation was provided for in-patients in a building near the mission house at Aburi which "Africans both Christian and non-Christian attended in considerable numbers".⁵⁰ Before the World War I the small hospital was attended by both Africans and Europeans. There were over 20,000 out-patients treated at Aburi and Abokobi and 129 admissions to the 12 bed hospital. The intervention of the War and subsequent deportation of Basel missionaries in 1917 brought the work to a halt. With the arrival of the Scottish Mission the medical work continued for a time. A dispensary for women and children was organised at Christianborg and in 1922 the Aburi hospital was reopened. At the request of the colonial government, the Scottish Mission undertook medical and welfare work for women and children at Abetifi. The foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, due to financial constraints, decided that it was unable to finance further medical work in the Gold Coast. In 1928, the clinics at Aburi and Abetifi were therefore closed.⁵¹

The Basel Mission began a 60-bed hospital at Agogo (Ashanti) in 1929. The Agogo hospital became one of the most esteemed hospitals in the country. People from different parts of the country still attends its eye clinic. Dispensaries were opened in surrounding towns and in 1935 provision was made for the treatment of lepers. The hospital was closed for seven years because of the internment of the German personnel during World War II. In 1951 the Basel Mission agreed to staff a clinic at Dormaa Ahenkro and in 1952 a similar one was opened at Bechem. The Mission also accepted the responsibility for the running of the new government hospital at Bawku, Upper East Region.⁵²

The Scottish Missionaries F.D. Harker and Mrs Margaret Benzie pioneered the Akropong School for the Blind in 1943. Later the school was organised into primary and middle classes. The leadership of the school was initially given to the

⁵⁰Smith, 187; cf. Basel Mission Report, 1900, pp.31-2.

⁵¹Smith, 187f.

⁵²Ibid., 188.

Scottish Mission. Later, a committee composed of representatives of the Presbyterian and Methodist Church and the Ministry of Education assumed responsibility. The school offered a elementary education for young pupils. For the older pupils there was craft training (basket and mat-weaving, and cane chair work), and shorthand and typing classes.⁵³

Literary Development and the Vernacular Language

Until 1950s the missions continued to be the vanguard of literacy development in the country. Those associated with Christianity or at least with the missionary enterprise, became the most literate group in the country. For some time all the available reading matter in vernacular languages were written by Christians. Smith rightly notes that the "Consolidation of the work of the mission was immeasurably assisted by the mastery of the Twi and Ga languages, and the production of Bibles, catechisms, service books, and school text books in these two languages".⁵⁴

Unlike the Wesleyans, the Basel mission took an exemplary stand towards the development of the local languages. Smith notes that the policy of the Basel Committee was that: "At all costs, the African was to hear the Gospel, read the Bible, and worship and be taught in his own language".⁵⁵ The works of Johannes Gottlieb Christaller, Johannes Zimmerman and B. Schlegel deserve special mentioning.

Smith has observed that the works of Christaller raised the Twi language to a literary level providing the basis of all later work in the language. It gave the first real insight into the Akan religious, social and moral ideas; it also welded the expression

⁵³Ibid., 189.

⁵⁴Ibid., 54.

⁵⁵ibid. The same cannot be said of the missionaries of the Wesleyan Mission who used mainly English in their evangelistic activities. Freeman, it is reported, that through out his 50 years of untiring missionary activities never preached a sermon in Fante. The "Wesleyan Church was characterised by its 'Englishness'. It is worth noting that the Fante version of two Gospels was undertaken by a Ghanaian, Rev. A.W. Parker in 1877 (Smith, 54).

of the Akan Christian worship to the mother tongue.⁵⁶ Though H.N. Riis had previously worked on the grammar, vocabulary, and proverbial sayings from Europe, it was Christaller's work that provided insight into the basic structure of the Akan language. Christaller's major contributions include:⁵⁷

- i. His publication of the four Gospels and Acts in 1859. He also provided Bible portions, hymns, and catechetical passages, for the use in schools and worship.
- ii. His first Twi Bible came out of the press in 1870-71
- iii. His comprehensive Twi grammar came out in 1875.
- iv. His Twi Dictionary came out in 1881.
- v. Encyclopaedia of Akan life.

Johannes Zimmerman was the key figure in the establishment of the missions in the Ga-Adangme area. His works include:⁵⁸

- i. The Ga translation of the four Gospels which came out in 1855.
- ii. The two-volume Ga grammar and a dictionary. This was published in 1857.⁵⁹
- iii. A complete translation of the Ga Bible. This was completed around 1866.
- iv. The Ga Hymn book which was begun by Steinhauser. He also produced the translation of Luther's Smaller Catechism, Wuttenberg's Confirmation Book, and a Catechism and Bible stories in Adangme.

The works of the Bremen missionary, B. Schlegel, include his production of the first Ewe primer, grammar, dictionary, Bible history and the life of Christ. He also translated the four Gospels.

In 1899, 2000 copies of the Gospels in English, 900 English Bibles and 500 copies of NT in Twi were sold.⁶⁰ The period 1928 to 1952 was a time of intensive study of Ghanaian languages by the staff of the Presbyterian Church's College at

⁵⁶Smith, 55. The Twi language in its various forms (Ashanti, Akim, Akwapim, Fante), is spoken from the northern boundary of Ashanti to the coast. It is also understood by many from other parts of the country. It is a Sudanic language of the Kwa group (Ibid.).

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹The full title was: *A grammatical sketch of the Akra-or Ga-language with some specimens of it from the mouth of the natives and a vocabulary of the same with an appendix on the Adanme Dialect.*

⁶⁰Basel Mission Report, 1900 cf. 30; cf. Smith, 228.

Akropong. The revision of Christaller's Twi Bible was begun under the leadership of Dr C. Asiedu Akrofi, a native of Larteh (Akwapim), and a staff of the College for thirty years. The revision was completed in 1960.⁶¹

Through the efforts of these dedicated men and many others, the vernacular Bible, Bible portions, hymns, and catechetical passages became available to the general public. The knowledge of the Gospel and its ethical demands in consequence, became widespread especially in the southern parts of the country.⁶²

On the whole a great deal of the total activity of the church was consumed in educational administration. The big school expansion and its effects on the churches have been summarised by Smith thus:

The general result of the rapid growth in the number of schools and the increasing control of the Education Department in the conduct of the schools was that the Mission schools were forced into a more secular pattern and it became more and more difficult to regard them as direct auxiliaries of the total evangelical enterprise. The inculcation of Christian character in the Middle schools became an increasingly difficult problem

During the First World War and after, the condition of teachers in Mission schools deteriorated in comparison with the small number of teachers in Government schools whose salaries were higher. There were many resignations, and the Church Schools had to recruit untrained monitors so that for a time the standard of achievement went down. the problem of many dismissals of teachers for moral lapses gave the Church great concern.⁶³

The problem of "over-attention to education" which Wilkie warned against at this period of the development of the church, became endemic in the later years as a

⁶¹Dr Akrofi, was one of the country's foremost linguists. He published the first Twi Grammar (*Twi Kasa Mmra*, Longmans) in 1937. In recognition of his biblical and linguistic achievements, he was awarded a Doctorate in Theology (*honoris causa*) in 1960 by the University of Mainz.

⁶²The establishment of the Bible Society of Ghana, accelerated the circulation of the Bible and Bible portions both in the vernacular and in English.

⁶³Smith, 170. Dr A.W. Wilkie, the leader of the Scottish team who took over the work after the deportation of the Basel missionaries from the colony, addressing the Synod in 1922 he complained that the Church was losing its primary evangelistic influence by what appears as "over-attention to education". He reiterated the need to maintain the centrality of the religious character of the whole training at each stage (Synod Minutes, 1922, p. 17; cf. Smith, 170).

result of the nation's Accelerated Development Plan introduced in 1951.⁶⁴ The effect of this was that between 1951 and 1957 the number of children in the country's assisted primary and middle schools increased from 204,262 to 571,580. Presbyterian church schools for the same period rose from 65,376 to 109,384.⁶⁵

The year 1951 therefore marked a significant watershed in the relationship of government and Church schools as the

Denominational schools were more closely integrated into a comprehensive state system and began to play a smaller part proportionately in the total scheme of education: the Block Grant system was abolished and instead salaries of teachers were paid to the educational units for disbursement; maintenance and equipment grants being paid to the Local Authorities.⁶⁶

The Accelerated Development Programme increased the administrative responsibilities of the missions. The many so-called Church schools became detached from the congregations. Effective pastoral oversight therefore became extremely difficult if not impossible. Many teachers did not take their profession of Christianity seriously and it was

An uphill task for the Colleges with ever increasing numbers and in the short time of training available to foster a Christian conviction in the students. Pastors are grossly overburdened by school managerial duties and find that in many cases the former sense of co-operation with the teachers in a common task simply no longer exists. Many church schools, are difficult to distinguish from Government or Local Authority Schools, and the name 'Presbyterian' has often become, so to speak, a 'tribal' name and nothing much more.⁶⁷

While some saw the over involvement in educational activities as a misplaced priority others saw it as part and parcel of the evangelistic mission of the Church. Debrunner reports the feelings of some the early missionaries who "felt that the

⁶⁴The Plan was aimed at providing some schooling for every child as a goal towards compulsory education.

⁶⁵Smith, 171; cf. The Accelerated Development Plan for Education 1951. Accra, 1951; Education Statistics 1958.

⁶⁶Smith, 172.

⁶⁷Ibid., 174.

overburdening of the missionaries with education and administrative work between 1920 and 1950 was a very mixed blessing". James McKeown of the Apostolic Church chided the missionaries of the established churches thus:

You other missionaries and your African pastors and collaborators labour and sweat with the school-and then you leave the people on their own, neglecting evangelism-and thus we can harvest where you have sown.⁶⁸

Evaluating the whole argument, some were blunt in rejecting any dichotomy between primary evangelism and social service:

We are busily engaged in teaching 'a dualism which has emptied religion of its social content and society of its soul'. If it were not for this we should not have missionaries declaring themselves for the side of the church or the defence of the school.⁶⁹

New Religious Movements

Some revivalist type figures began emerging on the religious scene during the early part of the second decade of the twentieth century. These prophetic figures announced the dawning of a new era, the era of the reign of Christ, demonstrating the power of the gospel. Notable among these early figures were Prophets Wade Harris, Sampson Oppong, Swatson (a disciple of Harris), and Peter Anim. The ministries of Harris, Oppong, and Swatson drew a large number of converts into the Roman Catholic, Methodist and Anglican Churches.⁷⁰ Several other charismatic figures later

⁶⁸Hans W. Debrunner 1967. *A History of Christianity in Ghana*. Accra: Waterville, 325.

⁶⁹J.W.C. Dougall 1937. Relationship of Church and School in Africa. *IRM* 1:XXVI, 206.

⁷⁰More will be said about these men in chapter two. Classic works on Harris, Oppon and Swatson are: Joseph E. Hayford 1915. *William Waddy Harris: The West African reformer: The man and his message*. London: C.M. Philips; Gordon M. Haliburton 1973. *The Prophet Harris and his mass movement in the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast*. New York: OUP; David A. Shank 1980. Prophet of modern times: The thought of William Wade Harris, West African precursor of the reign of Christ. Ph.D dissertation, University of Aberdeen. (Shank's thesis is so far the most comprehensive work on Harris. The main work on Oppon is Haliburton's article: The calling of a prophet: Sampson Oppong. *Bulletin of the Society of African Church*

emerged, demonstrating more or less the same charisma. Whereas Harris, Oppong, and Swatson did not set up to begin a church denomination, Anim, whose activities began in 1917, had a decided aim to form a denomination after his exit from the Anum Presbyterian Church.⁷¹ Anim's movement became the foundation of indigenous Ghanaian Pentecostalism.⁷² By 1930 his movement had been firmly established at Asamankese and branches of his church opened at other parts of the Eastern Province.

The Assemblies of God, an American Pentecostal group, also emerged in 1931 setting up their mission station in the Northern Territories. Later in 1937, James McKeown, a missionary of the UK Apostolic Church started missionary activities in the country under the auspices of Anim's Asamankese based group.

Within the space of fifty years or so after the emergence of the Pentecostal movement, it had become a potent force, registering the largest denominations and congregations in the country as the following average church attendance statistics

History 2:1(1965): 84-96. F.L. Bartels *The Roots of Ghana Methodism* 1965 Cambridge: CUP, also has a little information on Harris and Oppon, and their influence on the Methodist Church of Ghana. Baeta's book, *Prophetism in Ghana* 1962 (London: SCM), 7-27 details out the origins, development and spirituality of the **Church of the Twelve Apostles**.

⁷¹The Anum-Akwammu Presbytery was one of the five Presbyteries formed by the Basel Mission in 1922. The rest were Ga-Adangbe, Agona-Kotoku, Akim-Kwahu, and Ashanti-Akim (Smith, 207).

⁷²The significant characteristics of Pentecostalism include: a strong christology especially the Name and the Blood of Jesus, literal biblicism, mission consciousness, and Spirit-power concepts with special reference to I Cor. 12, of which glossolalic experience has an utmost significance. Other emphasis are believers' baptism, baptism of the Holy Spirit (believed to be subsequent to salvation), strong evangelistic ethos, and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The older Pentecostal denominations are marked by millennial adventism, and rigorist ethos of which practical holiness is supreme. Some within this group emphasise **"power evangelism"** (that is, proclamation confirmed by signs and wonders). The major denominations here place strong emphasis on salvation from the guilt and power of sin through Christ's atonement. Though they pursue salvation at two fronts: *This-worldly* and *other-worldly*, the former is subordinated to the latter. The healing camps within these denominations appear to place overwhelming emphasis on practical salvation, of which healing and prosperity are prominent. This is however not done to the exclusion of *soul salvation*; normally, this becomes the starting point to *salvation today*.

show:⁷³

CHURCH	ATTENDANCE	
	1988	1993
<i>Church of Pentecost</i>	198,041	259,920
<i>Apostolic Church</i>	43,405	55,100
<i>Assemblies of God</i>	32,246	60,298
<i>Christ Apostolic Church</i>	26,667	36,270
<i>Deeper Life</i>	7,704	20,832

Figures for the historic churches excluding Roman Catholic are as follows:

CHURCH	ATTENDANCE	
	1988	1993
<i>Presbyterian</i>	153,118	178,870
<i>Methodist</i>	184,723	188,725
<i>Anglican</i>	29,784	29,354
<i>Evangelical Presby.</i>	80,235	68,966
<i>Baptist (Convention)</i>	15,283	26,259
<i>A.M.E. Zion</i>	9,710	11,070

The numerical strength of the pentecostal movement is found both with the classic Pentecostals and the neo-pentecostals. This trend has led one commentator to

⁷³Ghana Evangelism Committee 1993. *National Church Survey*. Accra: GEC, 16.

refer to the phenomenon as "*Pentecostal explosion*".⁷⁴ The spirituality of the movement has come to be accepted as the norm by a large segment of the population. The movement has penetrated into the very centre of the historic churches, as key figures come under the influence of the pentecostals. The "Pentecostal spirituals" are the most popular songs in the country now.

Christianity and World View

In S.G. Williamson's comparative study of Christianity and Akan Religion, he argued that the church established by the western missionaries made some considerable gains both in propagating the Christian religion and as a social and cultural force, yet it was not able to speak directly to the people in religiously convincing terms. It therefore failed to meet the Akan spiritual need at the level at which she/he experiences it.⁷⁵ He argues that the western mission related church, by and large, is still an alien institution. It failed to root itself in the life and institutions of the Akan people in that

The Christian church denominationally implanted from the west, has substantially retained its original forms and expressed itself in western modes. Missionaries clearly set out to establish, not an Akan Church, but the Church they represented in the homeland. The polity and organisation, the liturgies and devotional expressions, the discipline and instruction, the total outlook derives directly from the parent Missionary Societies and the Churches supporting them. The Christianity of the Akan area proves to be the denominational Christianity of the west.⁷⁶

Williamson continues that by the assault of the missionary enterprise on Traditional beliefs and practices, and by the nature and method of its approach, the implanted Christian faith denied the Akan outlook in

⁷⁴Paul Gifford 1994b. Some Recent Developments in African Christianity. *African Affairs* 93:373 (October): 525.

⁷⁵S.G. Williamson 1965. *Akan Religion and the Christian Faith*, ed. Kwesi Dickson. Accra: UP, 159, 164.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 165.

fierce and abrupt terms, and thus failed to meet the Akan in his personally experienced religious need. The Akan became a Christian by cleaving to the new order introduced by the missionary rather than by working out his salvation within the traditional religious milieu.⁷⁷

Williamson's critique, like that of many other writers, raises several significant issues. The heart of it all is the issue of the relationship between Christianity and culture. At the heart of every culture lies the **world view**: how people perceive, understand, and interpret reality. Every culture has within its religious system certain practices directed towards the achievement of what is considered the highest good.

Religion, by its nature and purpose, should be holistic: addressing the total needs of the total man--spiritual, physical, and emotional--providing authentic answers for his/her everyday quests, fears, and anxieties. If a particular religious system fails to address what the people feel that their whole existence and survival hinge on, that system is bound to be jettisoned when the people are confronted with the real issues of life. For example we read, as far back as 1632, that the European priest at Elmina lamented that:

... Edina [Elmina] had its own pagan priest to whom the people gave full confidence ... he was even consulted by many so-called Christians, in secret of course, they placing more confidence in him than in their Catholic priests.⁷⁸

The situation described above did not change during subsequent centuries. For example we are told that *Tigare* caused "serious headaches to the Churches--often more than half of the congregation following the new cult".⁷⁹

The Intellectual and Philosophical Background of the Missions

The mission agents made no efforts to build Christianity into the Akan religious and social life. Thus "Christian congregations came into existence in conscious opposition to the ancestral ways of life and thought of the rest of the

⁷⁷Ibid., 170-71.

⁷⁸R.M. Wiltgen 1956. *Gold Coast Mission History 1471-1880*, 27. Quoted by Debrunner 1967, 32.

⁷⁹Debrunner 1967, 319.

community".⁸⁰

The reason for the attitude of the missionaries is not difficult to ascertain. The modern nineteenth and twentieth century western missionary enterprise to the Gold Coast was born from the background of the 17th and 18th century European intellectual movement, the **Enlightenment**.

Central to the enlightenment thought were the use and celebration of reason, the power by which man understands the universe and improves his own condition. The goals of rational man were considered to be knowledge, freedom, and happiness.⁸¹

The recognition and the enthronement of the rationality as the gate way to the understanding of reality had been previously explored by the philosophers of ancient Greece. The idea of a rational natural order and natural law was among the classical legacy inherited by Rome.⁸²

The missionaries came from a continent with a history of slave trade and colonial imperial expansion and domination. Christianity, dubbed the "White man's religion", was associated with a superior culture. The term "Christian" became synonymous with civilization and development. The agents of the proselytisation process were conscious at that time of its developing technology and of its cultural achievements. Baeta rightly observes that:

The fact that the evangelists and their hearers belonged to such glaringly racial types; the fact that their cultural backgrounds were so different; the unfortunate associations of the colour black in European superstition; the Slave Trade, with Europeans being always owners and Africans always the owned; the assumption by the m of a position of superiority *vis-a-vis* African, which assumption Africans weakly and unprotestingly accepted; the fact that the majority of missionaries to our parts were connected with the movement known as Pietism; these and such-like factors determined the policy, which was adopted by all missions practically without exception, of non-amalgamation with, and

⁸⁰Smith, 86.

⁸¹Robert McHenry, Gen. ed. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Vol. 4., 15th ed. 1992, 504.

⁸²Ibid.

aloofness from African culture.⁸³

The western mission agencies coming from a post enlightenment and rationalistic background, approached the missionary task from this ideological frame of mind. For many in the receptor culture, Christianity was not accepted for its religious value. Rather, it was seen as

A religion which offered material blessings. To learn to read, to learn something of the ability of the European to control his environment and to evolve a superior material culture, factors which to the African were bound with the white man's worship of Christ operated as strong motives for announcing oneself as a baptismal candidate.⁸⁴

The attitude of the missionaries and their African disciples towards the Akan primal world view and the Akan culture was one of negation, a denial of the validity of supernatural powers. For example the Gold Coast Christian Council pamphlet on witchcraft postulated a position that the phenomenon of witchcraft was not a reality but a psychological delusion. The Council also relegated Tigare to the realm of trickery.⁸⁵

The denial of the existence of the spirit-force (witches, sorcerers, fetishes, magic, charms and the local deities) in the missionary enterprise, radically undermined the work of the missions. In the process they ended up producing "two-world" Christians with double allegiance, as Asamoah observes:

Anybody who knows African Christians intimately will know that no amount of denial on the part of the Church will expel belief in supernatural powers from the minds of the Christian, and he becomes a hypocrite who in official church circles pretends to give the impression that he does not believe in these things, while in his own private life he resorts to practices which are the results of such beliefs.⁸⁶

Recognition of the malevolent spirit-entities while at the same time proclaiming

⁸³C.G.Baeta, *Christianity and Culture*, 55; quoted by Smith, 87.

⁸⁴Smith, 101.

⁸⁵E.A. Asamoah 1955. The Christian church and African Heritage *IRM* 175: XLIV (July): 297.

⁸⁶Ibid.

the supremacy of the All-Powerful Benevolent Christ, might have produced Christians who, though they would not deny the existence of several evil forces and the effects of their activities on the well-being of man, would set the whole cosmic struggle in the context of the supremacy of Christ. This approach would have affected the world view of the Akan "from the centre", thereby influencing his entire religious outlook.

The Quest of the Ordinary Man

Debrunner has observed that "the ordinary man in the street and in the bush expected four things from religion: (1) Social fellowship; (2) emotional experiences; (3) healing; (4) security against real or imagined evil forces".⁸⁷ Whether these expectations are limited to the "man on the street and in the bush" or are the expectations of mankind in general, is an issue that must be left open.

The western mission-related church seemed to have fairly succeeded in providing some form of social fellowship for its followers through the various societies and associations within the churches. Through the mission hospitals and clinics *part* of the healing needs of the people seemed to have been met. The problem however was that since the Akan understanding of the causality of disease incorporates both natural and supernatural causes, and supernatural causes are often regarded as the ultimate cause, the mission hospitals and clinics looking at disease causality from only the non-supernatural perspective, did not completely meet the healing needs of the people. In Field's study, she discovered that though the shrine therapists whom she investigated among the Akan in rural Ghana often told their clients with organic illness to go to the hospital, yet they stood

firmly on the theory that the primary vulnerability of the patient to the disease is of supernatural origin and until redemptive ritual has been performed, the hospital efforts are futile.⁸⁸

In the etiological categories of the primal imagination, the immediate causes of disease and the ultimate cause are equally important for a holistic healing, though

⁸⁷Debrunner 1967, 320.

⁸⁸Margaret Field 1960, 117.

much weight is placed on the ultimate cause.⁸⁹ The ultimate causalities (the supernatural factor) "place the origin of the disease with supersensible forces, malevolent agents or acts which are not directly observable".⁹⁰ Explanations such as witchcraft, bad magic, sorcery, bad medicine, and charm are included in this category. The mission hospitals operated from the perspective of modern western medical science, "based wholly on observed cause-and-effect relationships regardless of the accuracy of the observations made".⁹¹

One other area of need which the western related mission churches failed to meet was the perceived need for security against evil forces. Perhaps one may also indicate that the emotional needs of the people were not fully met. Semblances of emotional outbursts or "revivals" were evident within the churches, especially the Methodist church, but they were short-lived. A. E. Southon reports that

One reads of men who went into the bush, singly or in groups, to wrestle for hours in prayer...the agony of soul lasting from a period of hours to many months, came from a truly Christian conviction of sins ... men went without water and drink for days, so overburdened with a sense of sin that they were utterly unconscious of physical needs until they found relief for their souls through faith in the Lord Jesus.⁹²

Revival was also reported at Cape Coast in 1856. We read that " Sobs and prayers were heard in all parts of the chapel. For several weeks in succession the chapel was crowded and the boys' school-room was fixed up as an additional place of worship".⁹³

In another incident in Accra we are told that

Many were the strong cries and supplications for mercy which entered into the

⁸⁹Immediate causes explain *how* disease materialize" whereas ultimate causes explain *why* they happen (Peter Morley "Culture and Cognitive World of Traditional Medical Beliefs: Some Preliminary Considerations". In Peter Morley and Roy Wallis, eds, 1978. *Culture and Curing*. London: Peter Owen Ltd., 3).

⁹⁰Ibid., 2.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²A.E. Southon 1934. *Gold Coast Methodism, The Hundred Years, 1835-1935*. Cape Coast: 107; cf. Debrunner 1967, 156.

⁹³Wesleyan Methodist Mission Report 1856, 69; cf. Debrunner 1967, 156.

ears of the Lord of Saboath ... the spirit of supplication ... brought about a strong awareness of sin and then the clear sense of forgiving mercy ... made men weep tears of adoring gratitude and rejoicing in God, their Saviour.⁹⁴

Other revivals with emotional outbursts are reported elsewhere. T. B. Freeman is said to have looked upon these revival meetings with apprehension, fearing they might lead to sectarianism. Meanwhile Freeman's enthusiastic reports had been criticised in England.⁹⁵ A stoppage was put on the emotional expressions of the people. Thus, bringing to a halt the expectancy of the ordinary man for emotional experiences.

THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF G.C./GHANA

The Colonial Administration

By the time the Pentecostal movement began in the Gold Coast in 1917, the country was under imperial British rule. The country was divided into three: two colonies, and one protectorate. The Gold Coast colony was made up of the southern coastal and the forest areas,⁹⁶ and Ashanti, (annexed in 1902 by an imperial Royal Order in Council). The Northern Territories, which was the area between Ashanti and the Sudan, was in the protectorate category. After the First World War, the mandated area of British Togoland came under the administrative control of the governor of the Gold Coast Dependency.

The system of government under the colonial rule combined direct rule by the central government, and indirect rule through the indigenous institutions. The direct government was administered by a governor assisted by an executive, a legislative council, and a staff of administrative and technical officials. Local government was largely in the hands of the country's traditional chiefs and their councils of elders who were representatives of the various sections of the communities. For administrative purposes, the Gold Coast colony was divided into the Western Province with six

⁹⁴W. Moister 1875. *Memoirs of Henry Wharton*. London, 135f; cf. Debrunner 1967, 156.

⁹⁵Debrunner 1967, 156).

⁹⁶This is the present day Greater Accra Region, the Eastern Region, the Central Region, the Western Region, and the Volta Region.

districts; Central Province with four; and the Eastern Province with eight.⁹⁷ Ashanti was divided into Eastern and Western Province, each with four districts. The Northern Territories had a Northern Province with four districts and a Southern Province with five.⁹⁸

At the head of each province was a provincial commissioner, while in each district, there was a district or assistant district commissioner. There was no direct control on the evangelistic activities of the Pentecostals by the colonial government. The only exception was in the running of their primary schools, which for quality control purposes, saw some form of hindrance.

The Nation's Natural Resources

The mainstay of the economy was the natural resources which may be grouped into four main categories: agriculture, forestry, livestock, and mining. Of these four resources, agriculture and mining formed the chief backbone of the economy. Until recently, cocoa, from the agriculture sector, was the most lucrative.

The Cocoa Industry

The period 1891 to 1944 saw a rapid growth in cocoa production in the country.⁹⁹ The following figures give the quinquennial average of the cocoa export from 1891 to 1930:¹⁰⁰

	Tons
1891-1895	5
1896-1900	230
1901-1905	3,172
1906-1910	14,784
1911-1915	51,819
1916-1920	106,072

⁹⁷Some of these arrangements were changed when the 1946 constitution was promulgated.

⁹⁸Bourret, 36f.

⁹⁹Cacao seedlings were first brought to the country in 1857 by the Basel Missionaries. The cocoa industry was however introduced into the country by Tetteh Quarshie when he brought in some cocoa pods from Fernando Po in 1879.

¹⁰⁰*Gold Coast Hand Book* 1937. London, 38; cf. Bourret, 23.

1921-1925	186,329
1926-1930	218,895

Socio-Economic Developments:1919-1929

The period 1919 to 1939 was eventful in the economic development of the country. The first part of 1919 to 1929 saw great prosperity and rapid expansion. In 1898 cocoa exports were worth £9,616, by 1911 the figure had reached £1,613,468. The figure in 1917 reached £3,146,851.¹⁰¹ The period 1919 to 1930 saw great prosperity and rapid expansion in infrastructure as a result of the cocoa boom. Gordon Guggisberg's **"Ten Year Development Plan"** saw investment in roads, railways and ports.¹⁰² The boom also helped the churches to finance many of their educational and building projects. However, it also brought about a dislodgement of the former settled life of the Christian communities. The Christians, like everyone else, in their search for more fertile land, moved afield away from home on their cocoa farms which were chiefly in New Juaben, Akim and Ashanti. A considerable amount of time was therefore spent away from home to their cocoa farms. This affected the ordered lives of the Christians. "People returned only to celebrate funeral customs but not for Church services or Christian festivals".¹⁰³ Absence of regular fellowship with the local church resulted in

A general slackening of Christian zeal, the emergence of much nominal Christianity, a great number of exclusions for lapses from the Christian code, and an increased concern for 'pleasure' and the vanities of life.¹⁰⁴

The cocoa boom also came with watton disposal of what was once regarded

¹⁰¹Smith, 137.

¹⁰²Kofi Awoonor 1990. *Ghana: A Political History*. Accra: Sedco Publishers Ltd and Woeli Publishing Services, 176. The period of his governorship spanned from 1919 to 1930. Guggisberg's **Ten Year Development Plan** was not fully implemented until the first era of internal independence when Nkrumah launched it as part of his first five-year development plan of 1951 to 1955, and his subsequent plan of 1957 to 1959.

¹⁰³Smith, 138.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 137.

as ancestral lands. Smith indicates that:

The former basis of land tenure was interfered with; lands beyond one's tribal boundaries were bought and sold, a situation which encouraged litigation over possession. Families were sometimes disrupted by quarrels regarding inheritance of cocoa farms. There are reports of outbreaks of theft, hitherto little known, by those attracted by the wealth of some cocoa farmers. ... Not least, prolonged absences from home encouraged marital instability and the comparative neglect of the children.¹⁰⁵

The prosperity the cocoa industry brought also came with an increased obsession with witchcraft. The general traditional belief of the activities of witches has been spelt out by Field thus:

Power to spoil crops, to spoil cocoa fermentations and to become rich by 'sucking away' the invisible essence of money so that the victim meets financial losses and the spoiler financial windfalls. Witches are sometimes even blamed for spoiling the thoughts of prospective European mining companies and causing them to go away and take their money with them. They are also accused of maliciously causing gold and diamonds to retreat so deeply into the earth that prospectors cannot find them.¹⁰⁶

The economic changes in the country brought with it social pressures which forced many to turn to the various traditional sources of supernatural succour. Field indicates that the great majority of the people who visited the *abosom* shrines were healthy people supplicating for protection. Financially successful men were full of fear lest envious kinsmen should by means of bad magic or witchcraft bring about their ruin.¹⁰⁷ In her study she found a correlation between a growing sense of insecurity and the expansion of the cocoa industry.¹⁰⁸ This sense of insecurity became a fertile ground for the proliferation of the new shrines and the native practitioners. She

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 139.

¹⁰⁶Field 1940, 141f.

¹⁰⁷Ibid, 87.

¹⁰⁸What this illustrates for us that in Ghana, it is not only the "disinherited" who turn to the supernatural or religion for succour, but also the "inherited", though these two groups may have different sets of concerns.

identified about 10,000 native practitioners in the Southern parts of the country alone.¹⁰⁹

Socio-Economic Developments:1930-1940s

The decade between 1930 and 1940 was a difficult one. It began with the fall of the world price of cocoa from £50 to £20 per ton and ended with World War II.¹¹⁰ Government expenditure on education was reduced by almost one-third (From £300,000 in 1930 to 210,000 in 1933. By 1940 the figure was still below £300,000, although the number of children in schools for that decade had risen from 53,000 to 88,000.¹¹¹

The church had great difficulty making ends meet. The period was considered "specially unrewarding" by the Basel Mission in that:

Church dues were unpaid;
The number of agents working with the church was reduced;
Building schemes were held up;
Congregational life suffered;
Attendance at the Lord's supper declined as those who could not pay the required church dues absented themselves, as payment of dues was prerequisite for participation. Many people found it easier associating themselves "to sects which made little or no financial demands."¹¹²

The depression of the period between 1930s and 1940s brought with it the proliferation of more of the new *abosom* shrines. The widely-known ones were *Kune* (or *Brekune*), *Senyakupo* (or *Kupo*), *Tongo*, *Kankamea*, *Tigare*, *Blekete*, *Kwasi*

¹⁰⁹Ibid, 91.

¹¹⁰The period 1929 and 1939 saw a sharp drop in the revenue of the Dependency. In fighting the war of the ally Britain and her allies, nearly 70,000 young men were recruited for the war efforts. This affected the economic and social life of the country. There was labour shortage at a time "when increased agricultural production was vitally necessary". The concentration of European and African population in the urban areas, along with the shortage of imported goods, meant sharp rise in prices of commodities. A black market ensued as the government price control system failed (Bourret, 130, 146ff.)

¹¹¹Smith, 176.

¹¹²Ibid., 222.

Kukoro and *Kwaku Firi*.¹¹³ Of all these shrines, *Tigare*, which was at the height of its influence in the forties, was the most ubiquitous and most patronised.

Writing on the influence and popularity of the medicine shrines in general and *Tigare* in particular, Smith observes that:

It is difficult to estimate the importance of these cults in the total religious life of the people: they are active in many parts of Ghana and from time to time a particular one has gained sudden fame in a specific area or, as in the case of *Tigare*, over the entire country. Their rise has coincided with the decline in influence of the national and traditional *abosom* shrines and with the rapid development of the country on western European lines. Pastors' reports from 1922 to the present day mention the falling-away of Presbyterian Church members to take the medicine of one or other of them. In the nineteen forties the number of Christians lapsing to *Tigare* caused all the Mission Churches deep concern. Nkwantanang in Kwahu, the headquarters of the chief *Tigare* priest, became a place of pilgrimage attracting devotees, so-called pagans, literates and illiterates, Christians and Moslems, in thousands; special lorries were hired for the last part of the journey up the scarp from Nkawkaw railway station. I recall a week-end at Abetifi in January 1944 when I noted a stream of over two thousand 'pilgrims' in one afternoon.¹¹⁴

The cocoa and mineral industries brought a number of casual labourers from the Northern Territories. Somehow the southerners came to perceive the northerners as those who possessed spiritual power. Potent mysteries were therefore associated with the north.

To the Northern Territories therefore went various private practitioners of native medicine from Akim, searching for powerful *protective* and *curative* magic. What they actually found there were merely the old, simple, tribal deities--exactly like those of the coastal plains--concerned with making the crops to grow, families and cattle to increase, peace and prosperity to reign and demanding in return truth and goodness.¹¹⁵

The priests of the Northern Territories managed to commercialise their deities:

¹¹³Ibid, 263.

¹¹⁴Smith, 266. Smith notes that his observation at Abetifi in 1944 was during the occasion of the *Tigare Anwona* festival.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 142f. Emphases are mine.

Some of the priests soon learnt to charge heavy fees for this and to demand an annual pilgrimage of thanks with an annual tribute, but others charged nothing but a fowl or a goat and kola nuts". ... All over Akim--and elsewhere in the Gold Coast for all I know--these shrines have sprung up. Some of them gained a far-flung reputation and a glamour unknown in their own country. Their number increases almost daily. The earliest shrines to be set up belong to private practitioners, but almost every town in Akim Kotoku has now set up a town shrine.¹¹⁶

Field notes that the favourite shrines in Akim Kotoku (Eastern Province) were those of Senya Kupo from the village of Senyon near Bole; Tigare from Ipara near Wa; Nana Tongo from the Tong Hills near Zuarungu, and Assasi.¹¹⁷ She observes that:

The nature and attributes of any deity [that is, the Gold Coast deities] are not inherent in it but change with changing worshippers--sometimes beyond recognition. War gods turn into agricultural gods when adopted by farming people, agricultural gods beat their hoes into spears in time of war, a black-smith-god becomes a fishing-god when he falls into the hands of fishermen. The demands of the suppliants and the character and ideas of the shrine-keeper determine the nature of the deity in his new home. Sometimes his very name is changed.¹¹⁸

The cults and their shrines were not only patronised by the "uneducated". The phenomenon was so pervasive that

Literates and Christians are not uninterested in these new shrines and most native pastors say that they have difficulty in preventing their flocks from going secretly at night to "drink the medicine". One shrine-keeper showed me a special little private grove for the use of Christians.¹¹⁹

Nkrumah's Rule and the Problem of the Economy

Awoonor indicates that

The period of internal self-rule, 1951-1957, witnessed further

¹¹⁶Ibid., 143.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 145. (Field was not able to identify the original home of Assasi.)

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 146.

expansion in infrastructural investment when Nkrumah took over the long suspended Guggisberg development plan of the late twenties. But this rapid growth in infrastructure led to a deterioration in public finances. The 1957 budget revealed the first substantial deficit of £14 million of 1956 replaced the surpluses of 17 million per annum between 1950 and 1955. External reserves at this time generated a degree of stability in prices, with the price index rising only by 19% between 1954 and 1961.¹²⁰

The structure of the economy remained the same after independence. Awoonor points out that Nkrumah's liberal economic policy, influenced by Sir Arthur Lewis, the West Indian economist, firmly confirmed that Ghana's economy remained under foreign control. The appendage of the Ghanaian monetary system to the British sterling strengthened this dependence. It also locked up the country's financial assets in a foreign economic system over which it had no control.¹²¹

Awoonor notes that

Between 1934-1938 the colony's supply of cocoa to the world market was 39%. In the period 1958/61 it had dropped to 34%. Nigeria, La Cote d'Ivoire, Brazil, the Cameroons and other nations had increased their share of the world market from 19% to over 23% after World War II. Over-production ensued and this led to a sharp fall in the world price.¹²²

Whereas the world price of cocoa fell thereby affecting cocoa revenues, demand for consumer goods at home rose. Investment in social services, and the growth in the civil bureaucracy, led to an increase in public expenditure. Annual trade deficits of 35% became a regular pattern after 1960. The deficit balance of £G5 million in 1950 rose to £G10 million by 1960. Total private capital and overseas aid remained static around £G5 million whilst transfers abroad increased from £G15 million in 1956 to £30 million in 1960. The result was inflation, an increase in prices, and a fall in the real value of salaries and wages.¹²³ By 1961 the deficit had reached £37 million. The deterioration in the price of cocoa accentuated the deficit trend.

¹²⁰Awoonor, 181.

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Ibid., 182.

¹²³Ibid., 183.

"Foreign resources by the end of fiscal year 1961 were depleted without any increase in the country's productive capacity".¹²⁴

In 1961, unrest had begun to be felt in sectors due to the fall in real wages. The workers of Takoradi went on strike. Under the Preventive Detention Act of 1958, some members of the opposition who were considered to be destabilising the country were put into jail.

To arrest the commanding heights of the economy, Nkrumah, in January 1964, introduced the Seven-Year Development Plan. This plan replaced his Five-Year Plan of 1959-1964.¹²⁵ In introducing the Plan, Nkrumah's aim was to:

Establish in Ghana a strong and progressive society in which no one will have any anxiety about the basic means of life, about work, food and shelter; where poverty and illiteracy no longer exist and disease is brought under control; and where our educational facilities provide all the children of Ghana with the best possible opportunities for the development of their potentialities.¹²⁶

Nkrumah introduced exchange controls and import licensing in the economy but these were fraught with corruption by party cronies and other high functionaries.

A military *coup d'état* led by Kotoka and A. A. Afrifa, brought an end to his government on 24 February 1966. Thus Nkrumah's dream of building "firm foundations for the complete transformation of Ghana into a strong, industrialised socialist economy and society" by December 1970 became an unfulfilled dream.

¹²⁴Ibid., 181f.

¹²⁵*The Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development*, is the embodiment of Nkrumah's dream for Ghana. Sixteen eminent economists from all over the world were invited to the country to a conference in April, 1963 to discuss the plan. It was then presented to the parliament in January, 1964. Nkrumah writes:

The Plan provides the blueprint for the future progress and development of Ghana as a nation. It is a programme of social and economic development based on the use of science technology to revolutionize our agriculture and industry. It is designed to provide the basis not only of our national progress and prosperity, but also of our ability to contribute to the advancement of the African continent (Foreword).

¹²⁶Nkrumah, Foreword (v.).

Economic and Political Developments of the Post First Republic Era

The new regime, the National Liberation Council, received 1 billion dollars from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Nkrumah's socialist oriented economy was aborted by the new rulers. Privatization of industries was launched. The currency was devalued in July 1967. This was accompanied by a wage freeze. Foreign exchange restrictions were lifted. The industrialisation policy of Nkrumah was abandoned.

All these efforts did not yield much result. The much- expected foreign investment did not materialise. The stagnation became more acute than under Nkrumah.

Receipts from taxation fell from C282 million in 1965 to 240 million in 1966/67. The budget deficit rose from C77 million in 1965 to C101 million by 1968. There was increase in unemployment.¹²⁷

The NLC handed over to Professor K.A. Busia, and his Progress Party, in the Second Republic on October 1, 1969. The seeming popularity of the government of Busia was short lived due to his notorious Alien's Compliance Order, and his dismissal of some 568 public servants.¹²⁸

Colonel I.K. Acheampong overthrew Busia's government in January 1972. Acheampong's military regime, the Supreme Military Council I, was fairly successful in its first two years. Its battle cry was public accountability and probity. They showed an example by riding around in modest vehicles. Its Operation Feed Yourself Campaign¹²⁹ yielded great results.

Acheampong's government made two main decisions which undermined the economy. The first was the reversal of Busia's devaluation. The cedi/dollar

¹²⁷Ibid., 186.

¹²⁸This Order which came into force in 1970, required that all aliens, including those whose parents were born in Ghana, were to be deported into their countries of origin unless they were able to obtain the necessary residential permits within a stipulated time. Those who stayed were forbidden from entering into certain businesses.

¹²⁹This was a nationwide food production programme. The efforts of the people were blessed by abundant rain. Ghana was able to export rice in 1973 due to the success of this programme.

relationship was frozen. The cedi was therefore overvalued for more than ten years until the currency came to a virtual collapse. The second economic misjudgment was that the government awarded hefty salary increases. This led to an increase in public spending, putting a strain on an already ailing economy.

Acheampong gave himself unrestrained executive powers as the head of state. He also took charge of the treasury of the country. At one time he was holding two important ministerial portfolios: those of finance and economic planning. Acheampong displayed gross incompetence and ineptitude in the execution of his duties. Fiscal control was not part of the economic system. He resorted to deficit financing and the printing of more currency to back a diminishing goods supply base, particularly of the import sector.

Acheampong authorised import licences to be issued to his friends and business acquaintances. As the majority of the people were reduced to absolute poverty, some, especially those with close links with Acheampong's regime, including some market women, wallowed in luxury and opulence through indulging in all forms of corrupt business transactions, a practice that became popularly known as "*kalabule*".

Economic mismanagement, compounded by drought and the fall in the world price of cocoa, brought about untold stress. The diamond and gold mines in the country ground to a halt. Health care was paralysed as the doctors, joining their colleagues in other professions, embarked on strike action, refusing to treat patients. Acheampong's **SMC I** was replaced by Akuffo's **SMC II** in July 1978, through a palace coup. Akuffo's rule was short lived. The excesses of Acheampong's regime of which Akuffo was a part, had broken down the control command within the army. There was a general outcry for a change. Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings appeared on the scene in 4th June 1979 as the peoples' *messiah*. He and his young military comrades tried to clean the system through the barrel of the gun. Three former heads of State: Acheampong, Akuffo, and Afrifa, and some top military brass were all executed. The Makola market, the stronghold of profiteering, was completely demolished. Many people fell victim to the merciless brutality of the revolution.¹³⁰ Food shortages

¹³⁰It was later alleged that some members the regime capitalised on the loopholes in the system to enrich themselves at the expense of the nation.

became more acute after stores which had been hoarded were sold to the public by the military under force of arms. Stress, distress, and disorder became the lot of the masses.

When Rawlings and his men felt their "house cleaning" mission was over, they handed over to a civilian government led by Dr Hilla Liman on 24 September 1979. Rawlings soon felt that Liman's government was inept and corrupt. He staged a come back coup d'état on 31 December 1981. He was hailed again by a cross section of the population, especially the youth. The early part of his reign undermined one of the long established traditional values of the country: respect for the elderly. He introduced the attractive but short lived concept of the value of the working class, the underdogs. The latter were to take power from the ruling class, who had dominated the economic, political, and social scene for too long. Slogans like "Power to the People" and "*We no go sit down make them cheat us everyday*" became the battle cry of the masses.¹³¹ This message seems to have attracted the youth. Rawlings' tender age relative to previous heads of state, his charisma and his critique of the 'establishment', appear to have injected self-confidence into the youth.

Meanwhile there was no improvement in the living standards of the people. The hardships seem to have become more acute and desperate. The hospitals became grave yards. The 1983 protracted drought compounded the situation. A spate of bushfires engulfed cocoa farms and corn fields farms. The conflagration took some human lives. Hunger, starvation and deprivation became the lot of the people. The situation was again compounded by the expulsion of about 1.2 million Ghanaian immigrant workers from Nigeria in 1992/93 in what has been rightly referred as an "atmosphere of massive brutality."¹³² The combined efforts of the churches and other religious groups, the government and some concerned individuals, averted what would have otherwise been a horrendous effects of the expulsion.

¹³¹This attitude became counter productive as it was soon realised that after such utterances the economy of the country needed to go forward and it required the knowledge, skills, wisdom and expertise of those the masses had turned against. Rawlings somehow had to step in to avoid a total breakdown of law and order so that the economy could be rebuilt.

¹³²Awoonor, 254.

The desperate need for foreign exchange brought the IMF and the World Bank into the picture. Severe economic measures were imposed. The devaluation of the cedi became a regular pattern.¹³³ The devaluation made the export sector lucrative for export goods. In September 1986 a weekly auction of the cedi was instituted by the Bank of Ghana. The trade liberalisation policy made it possible for those with foreign exchange to import goods for the home market.

The Economic Recovery Programme initiated at the instigation of international funding agencies, private overseas banks and governmental agencies, was meant to stimulate domestic production in the export sector, to revitalise basic industrial production, and restore some value to the cedi. Whereas there are positive signs that the recovery of the economy from years of mismanagement and exploitation is on the way, the effects of the Programme on majority of the people are debilitating.¹³⁴

Religion and Salvation

The decade of 1980-1990 has seen the proliferation of old and new Christian and non-Christian religious groups in the country. From all indications it appears the trend will continue. All these various groups purport to be offering *salvation*. It was in this context that the neo-pentecostals emerged with their message of **health, prosperity, and hope** for today.¹³⁵ Within the same period the classic Pentecostals revitalised their evangelistic activities and prayer meetings.

We propose that, from the human perspective, the single significant factor that

¹³³The dollar-cedi ratio of 2.75 cedis to \$1, jumped to 30 cedis to the dollar in 1983. By 1986 one dollar fetched was fetching about 90 cedis. By October 4, 1993, the rate of the cedi to the dollar had gone up to 659.97. As at this date the rate to £1 sterling stood at 999.85 cedis. The value of the cedi relative other major currencies has continued to fall. By 1995 it already reached 2000 cedis to £1.

¹³⁴This has unleashed some vocal opposition against the government even from its own ranks. The unrest that ensued as a result of the effects of the 1995 budget and the arbitrary introduction of the VAT, amply suggests that the economic pressure on the people is in the ascendancy.

¹³⁵The first of the major neo-pentecostal churches (Action Faith Church) emerged in 1979. The rest emerged after 1984 (For example, the International Central Gospel Church emerged in 1984; Grace Outreach Church in 1985; Victory Bible Church in 1985; Global Revival in 1985).

has given rise to a boom in pentecostalist activities in the country is that, Pentecostalism has found a fertile ground in the all-pervasive primal religious traditions especially its cosmology and concept of salvation. The Pentecostal phenomenon is therefore not limited to the Pentecostal denominations; it is a supra denominational phenomenon. Because of its appeal to the primal expectations, the phenomenon, contrary to the established tradition of the historic churches, will continue to permeate their strongholds, influencing both the weak and the powerful. It is clear therefore that unless proper theological and practical response is made by the leadership of the historic churches, those in the opposing rank will be swept aside as the wind of Pentecostalism blows across the land, gathering all those who are "weak and heavy laden" into its bosom.

CHAPTER TWO

TWENTIETH CENTURY PENTECOSTAL STIRRINGS: THE GHANA EVIDENCE

Introduction

Lamin Sanneh observes that:

By the end of the nineteenth century it was clear that the question which most exercised the minds of people concerned with Christianity in West Africa was not the defensive one of whether the religion would survive but the more creative one of the form in which it would emerge. In the regions of the greatest population density, such as Yorubaland and the Niger, great stirrings were taking place as new economic and political forces delivered hammer-blows to traditional institutions and ideas, with the quiet impact of modern education softening up pockets of psychological resistance The process began long before the imposition of colonial rule, and was to persist in spite of it. Into this historic ferment Christianity was introduced and adopted as a power capable of answering the new questions that a changed historical circumstance has forced upon the people. To do that well, Africans had to take a leading role in the transmission and adaptation of the religion.¹

In the Ghanaian context, these "*great stirrings*" or **renewal movements** have coloured the face of Christianity and ushered in new Christian spirituality. These renewal movements may be placed within two main periods: 1900s to 1970s, and 1970s to 1990s. The two periods produced six major strands of Christian renewal movements.² The first period also saw the emergence of some major prophetic figures whose activities precipitated a great harvest of souls into the historic churches. Before we look at the six strands of the Christian renewal movements we have identified, we will discuss the three known prophetic figures which the first period produced and the effects of their activities on the historic churches.

PROPHET HARRIS AND THE GREAT STIRRINGS

The first of the major Pentecostalist type revivalists to appear on the Gold

¹Lamin Sanneh 1990. *West African Christianity*. Maryknoll: Orbis, 168.

²These are Prophet-healing/Aladura type churches referred to in Ghana as Spiritual Churches; Mainline or classic Pentecostal Churches; the Charismatic Movement within the mainline churches; Pentecostalist Para-church Movement; and the Prophet/Healer-Centred Pentecostalist Prayer Camps.

Coast scene in 1914 was a Liberian Grebo (Kru) Evangelist, William Wade Harris. He made his brief appearance in the Nzema area of south-western Ghana. Harris movement itself if considered in light of his radical discontinuity from the tribal gods, his Pentecostal self-understanding of the gifts and operations of the Holy Spirit, his adaptation of indigenous forms of worship, and aspects of his evangelistic strategy, it becomes clear that the Prophet's movement does belong, to a greater extent, to mainline Pentecostalism rather than the spiritual church category. In view of the fact that some of his followers later organised as Spiritual churches, Harris could still be regarded as the originator of the spiritual church movement.

Our intention here is not to provide any fresh data on the man, rather, we intend to use materials from existing data to explain that he succeeded largely because he understood the African world view and was able to make Christianity relevant to his followers.

The Call and Ministry of the Prophet

Harris is said to have received his call into the prophetic ministry while serving about one-year prison sentence in Liberia for allegedly taking part in a protest against repressive policy of the Americo-Liberian government towards the Grebo people. In this revolt, Harris is said to have publicly desecrated the Liberian flag and hoisted the Union Jack.³ While in prison, he is reported to have received an angelic visitation, commissioning him as the prophet of God. It is reported that "the Spirit descended upon him three times, with a sound like a jet of water" and that this phenomenon was accompanied by speaking in tongues.⁴

On his release from prison, Harris commenced the execution of his mission. He had apparently little success in his own country, and in neighbouring Sierra Leone, but when he crossed to Ivory Coast in 1913 and Apolonia and Axim districts of the then Gold Coast in 1914 he left no doubt in the minds of the people that he was indeed the prophet of the most High God, as he challenged hundreds of people, chiefs and subjects alike, to surrender their fetishes for destruction and to submit

³Haliburton 1971, 30f.

⁴Ibid., 35.

themselves for baptism.

Harris saw himself as a person of destiny who had been commissioned to fulfil a divine mandate following in the foot steps of his Master. He inspired awe and fear as he went about his missionary activities burning fetishes and exercising complete mastery over those spiritual forces that had kept his audience captive. Where the people had been quite untouched by the missionaries, he moved thousands into faith. Harris' attack on the tribal gods was complete and thorough. For him Jesus is the Supreme God and therefore allegiance to him gives the convert all the protection required against the onslaught of evil spirits.

The main factor of his success was that he saw in himself the embodiment of divine destiny... a call to mission that came with divine enablement. Haliburton's observation here touches the core of the issue

Harris claimed to be a prophet with all the special powers that God bestows on those He chooses. These powers enabled him to drive out demons and spirits, the enemies of God. He cured the sick in body and in mind by driving out the evil beings preying on them. Those who practised black magic had to confess and repent or he made them mad. He had all the power of the fetishmen and more: with his basin of holy water he put God's seal on those who repented and accepted baptism. If after that they fell into the old wickedness, they died or went mad. He believed God had given him other powers, more dramatic assertions of their relationship, notably the power to call down fire and rain from heaven.⁵

Harris and the Gifts of the Spirit

Harris had a God-given ability to operate in the realm of the supernatural. Shank documents the following gifts in the life of Harris: prescience (ability to accurately foretell future events), gift of exorcism, gifts of healings, speaking in tongues and the working of miracles. He was constantly aware of angelic presence, a phenomenon he greatly depended upon in the execution of his missionary activities.⁶ Harris was able to tread the path where others had failed. Harris did not just tell his prospective converts to believe in God and surrender their fetishes and all will be well. He knew too well that this would not work, so he demonstrated before

⁵Ibid., 3.

⁶Shank, 478-490.

the very eyes of his audience, the very power of God which he represented. This strategy gave him real advantage over his missionary colleagues.⁷ In this regard Haliburton has observed that

When Harris had shown himself stronger than the whole pantheon of gods and spirits, he was in a positive position to bring about the conversion of the people without any reference to his personal magnetism or oratory. Once it was certain that the religion he brought was more powerful than the old one he could delegate the work of conversion to the clerks, who by themselves would never have won a hearing.⁸

The concept of the High God was not unfamiliar to Harris' audience. This God who was believed to be far away and removed from the mundane activities of men was brought near to the people as he discredited the old gods by exerting the power of the High God over them.

Though Harris accepted the reality of these intermediary beings, he saw them as agents of Satan. His mission was, therefore, to cast them out of their erstwhile tenements and to establish the rule of God in their places.

His chief task was to bring him forward, to establish him as the source of both blessings and punishments, and thus to establish his unchallenged reign among them.⁹

The Concerns of Harris's Converts

The converts of Harris felt a great dependence upon their fetishes as could be found in the following dialogue reported by Haliburton:

...You come here to burn de fetish... you done burn all de fetish... suppose person be sick, how one gen' to make medicine.¹⁰

It appears from this dialogue that the people felt their total well being was dependent upon the fetishes which were thought to be mediators of life force from the spirit world, so to take it from them without providing any functional substitute will be to render the converts helpless, real or imagined. Harris instructed the people

⁷Haliburton 1971, 3.

⁸Ibid., 117.

⁹Ibid., 46-7.

¹⁰Ibid., 45.

that when they went to gather medicinal herbs they should pray to God while they prepared the medicine, and again pray as and when it is administered.¹¹

The people were already familiar with the preparation and administration of herbal medicines. Though in the traditional context it is thought that their potency is derived mainly from the blessings the spirits will endow on them, normally as the supplicants or their representatives pray over the herbs. Harris, being familiar with this perspective, intelligently placed the potency of the herbal medicine in the context of prayer, but in this case, to the High God who has been brought nearer to his people. The people, will have no doubt in believing Harris because he had demonstrated the nearness of God through the signs he wrought.

One of the other reasons why Harris succeeded in the areas where the missionaries had failed was his ability to adapt the Gospel to the needs of his converts. There was both continuity and discontinuity between the traditional world view and the Gospel. He saw a radical discontinuity between the Gospel and fetishism, he nevertheless made use of the liturgical forms of the people which might have been used in the context of traditional worship. In those places where independent churches grew out of Harris' work, he allowed the converts to use the traditional songs of the people, inserting in, at the appropriate places, the name of God.¹² On this Haliburton has observed that

He kept his converts in the new faith by modifying their practices in intelligent ways, rather than by condemning them outright. He won over the whole community and preserved its social structure intact. This meant that whereas mission converts had to leap over a great gulf separating their old beliefs and activities from new ones, the Harris' converts had to leap over a great gulf separating their old beliefs and activities from new ones, the Harris converts had only to take a step - a substitution of God for the former pantheon of Gods and spirits and an observance of taboos in the place of theirs. The men who had led the community in observing the old faiths, led them in the new; it was not those who followed Harris who defied community feelings but those who held to the old ways.¹³

¹¹Ibid., 54.

¹²Ibid., 54.

¹³Ibid., 3.



One other difference in strategy between Harris and the European missionaries was the issue of baptism. Haliburton explains the failure of the Catholic Fathers before and after the appearance of Harris in the following way:

The Catholic Fathers had as splendid an opportunity to convert in Harris's footsteps as the despised clerks and their failure to do so was for the same reason that they had failed before his coming. Harris gave the baptism immediately; the European missionaries would give it only after a long period of instruction and testing.¹⁴

The Role of the Bible in Harris' Thinking

For Harris, it is the Bible that reveals the plans and purposes of God to His people. He, therefore, insisted that the criteria for accepting or rejecting the missionaries who were to come after him was their attitude to the Bible.¹⁵ The Bible remained the essential source of truth and light for himself and his adherents.¹⁶

The Effects of Harris' Work on Missionary Activities

The Fathers had a great increase in the number of their catechumens in the years after Harris had preached, but those were people who, according to Haliburton, enjoyed the protection offered by the Prophets's baptism, ran no risk in accepting Catholic instructions. Even in 1925, Haliburton continues, the Methodist missionaries found that the people felt they must be baptised before they tried to become Christians as otherwise they had no power to change themselves.¹⁷

Harris' expulsion did not halt the progress of the religious and social changes he had set in motion. In the then Gold Coast the Methodist and Roman Catholics freely competed to win over his converts, and new religious communities appeared as well.

¹⁴Ibid., 117.

¹⁵Ibid., 55.

¹⁶Shank, 469.

¹⁷Haliburton, 117.

The Aftermath of Harris

Haliburton reports that the Nzima converts did not respond completely to the message of the European founded churches (Roman Catholic and Methodist), and as such many relapsed into traditional religion. He gives the following reasons:

In some cases the religion offered by the churches was not to the taste of the converts, these followed 'syncretistic groups; Many others were not really contacted by the churches due to various logistic and administrative factors.¹⁸

Harris was a man of dedication, committed to the winning of his people from the power of evil spirits. The spiritual pedigrees of Harris were his deep sense of God's calling upon his life, his understanding of the spiritual universe of the people and his ability to penetrate that universe and making the gospel relevant to the fears, concerns, and aspirations of the people.

One man who arrayed like Harris and conducted evangelistic activities in the Western Province, within the context of one of the historic churches was John Swatson.

SWATSON AND THE GREAT STIRRINGS

John Swatson, once described as "a man of strong and sober character",¹⁹ was born at Beyin in Apolonia (Nzima), in the Western Province. His father, a European, was attached to the royal court of the Omanhene, Amakyi I. Swatson's mother belonged to the royal house.²⁰

Swatson was educated at the Beyin local Methodist school and later completed his elementary school at Cape Coast. He married according to Church ordinance a daughter of a Methodist pioneer of the area. He worked for a commercial house at Axim. He made some losses in this job and he eventually moved to Benin, Nigeria,

¹⁸Haliburton, 151. The religious communities which later developed out of the activities of some of Harris' followers fall under our category of *Spiritual Churches*. See below for a discussion of this form of church group.

¹⁹Quoted by Debrunner 1967, 277 cf. Archdeacon Morrison, *The Diocese of Accra*, 3;

²⁰G.M. Haliburton: The Anglican Church in Ghana and Harris Movement in 1914. In *The Bulletin of the Society of African Church History* I (1964): 101-106.

where he worked probably for some years as a civil servant. On his return to the Gold Coast, he took service with the Methodists as a teacher-catechist in the Axim Circuit which then included congregations at Grand Bassam, Aboisso, and Assinie in the Ivory Coast. Between 1912 and 1913 Swatson was in charge of the Aboiso congregation in the Ivory Coast.²¹

During Harris' activities in the region in 1914, Swatson is said to have "begged him to teach him his powers of baptism" which he did and commissioned him as his disciple. We are told that:

From that moment Swatson believed that the Holy Spirit, so manifest in Harris, had fallen on him. He abandoned his personal possessions, dressed himself in a white robe like Harris, and like him carried a cross swathed in white calico and the indispensable bowl of baptismal water.

He wandered thus through the Aboisso region and ... the western side of the Tano River, preaching and converting pagans as he went. ... He crossed the Tano and reached Wiawso, a sizeable place some eighty miles from the coast.

His success was considerable. Like Harris he used the Bible to drive out evil spirits, placing it on the head of a fetish priest and exhorting him until he was cleansed, and driving "gods" from their shrines and groves. He also used his power to introduce some reforms²²

Swatson's encounter with Harris provoked the resignation of his membership from the Methodist Church for "some ambition was stirring in Swatson's breast which the humdrum work of a Methodist agent could not assuage".²³

Swatson's work was apparently discovered by E.D. Martinson of Larteh when he visited Enchi at the request of Archdeacon G.W. Morrison.²⁴ C.H. Elliot had encountered Swatson in 1916 at a crossroads village, Jamesu Nkwanta, near Dunkwa.

²¹Haliburton 1964, 101.

²²Ibid., 102 cf. Haliburton's conversation with Canon Elliot, Cape Coast Cape Coast, 17.4.1964 and Mary Swatson Annor, Beyin, 15.4.1964 (Mary S. Annor was a sister of John Swatson).

²³Haliburton 1964, 102.

²⁴Haliburton believes the villages Martinson "found must have been among the first converted by Swatson on the Gold Coast side of the boarder" (Haliburton 1964, 104).

He managed to take him to Archdeacon Morrison in Kumasi, who was in charge of the area. During this encounter Swatson gave Morrison a list of about 1,077 names of converts whom he had baptised among the Denkyera and Sefwi people. Morrison is said to have been so impressed by Swatson that he spent three weeks touring the district Swatson had been working. He later reported to the S.P.G. that:

An extraordinary man named Swatson, (a mulatto) has been evangelising and baptising the remote heathen villages of the Western Province of the Colony. He has told many of his converts to become 'Church of England'.²⁵

Later Martinson was ordained and installed at Tarkwa, and Swatson's congregations were placed under his charge.²⁶ Christian Martinson, his brother, subsequently abandoned his grammar-school education to team up with him, stationing himself at Denkyira. Swatson was later commissioned by Bishop O'Rorke to oversee all the small churches in the Nzima area. Swatson was licensed in the diocese as a preacher "and whilst having full freedom for the exercise of his great gifts, pledged to conform to all proper authority".²⁷ "He went back to Beyin, which he made his headquarters, and, still wearing his white gown and carrying his white cross, he built up the 'English Church Mission'".²⁸ Swatson was recommissioned in 1924 by Bishop Aglionby to continue his work for the Anglican Church.

The greatest contribution of Swatson to the Anglican church was that through his activities "the interior was opened up for mission work amongst people who had never heard of Christ before, let alone the Church of England or S.P.G."²⁹ Another contribution Swatson made to the church was that while he was in Kumasi he had

²⁵Missionary Reports, 1916. SPG Archives, London; quoted by Haliburton 1964, 104.

²⁶E.D. Martinson was ordained deacon in 1915, priest in 1917, and consecrated Assistant Bishop in 1951. He was the first ordained African minister of the Anglican Church in Ghana since Philip Quaque's ordination in 1765.

²⁷Quoted by Debrunner 1967, 277; cf. Archdeacon Morrison: *The Diocese of Accra*, pp. 7, 8; Haliburton 1964.

²⁸Haliburton 1964, 105.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 103.

helped translate parts of the Prayer book and Anglican hymns into the Nzima language.³⁰ Haliburton reveals that as every part of the services of Swatson was in the vernacular he "won many adherents from the Methodist and Roman Catholic adherents of the area, as well as among the non-church goers".

The later days of Swatson with the church seem to have been a difficult period. In 1934 his movement was portrayed by Bishop Aglionby who had recommissioned him in 1924 thus:

John Swatson was a rather undisciplined and very ignorant self constituted missionary ... people were stirred up by him out of heathenism, but he did not give them much else ... among the converts, there was great zeal, vast ignorance, some indiscipline, a tendency of some specially young men, to flout the local chief's authority, and much moral laxity, with a natural hesitancy in accepting and practical difficulties in putting into effect, the church's rule about having only one wife.³¹

The description of Swatson here by Aglionby contrasts sharply with what we know of him through the testimony of Archdeacon Morrison who once described him as "a man of strong and sober character". The Bishop's accusation seems to have been influenced by differences he had with Swatson.³² Though we may not be certain about the motives behind the Bishop's criticism, one thing that appears to be certain is that Swatson's later days were morose: he became eccentric as an old man. He also suffered from mental derangement after 1924.³³

SAMPSON OPPONG AND THE GREAT STIRRINGS

The Call of the Prophet

Sampson Oppong was an illiterate fetish practitioner with no Christian

³⁰Ibid., 105.

³¹J.O. Aglionby. *Golden Shore*, vol. ix, 1943, p.159. Quoted by Debrunner 1967, 277.

³²Haliburton writes that Swatson "wrote very odd letters to the Bishop", one of these letters was written in 1924 at Beyin on 14 December 1924, and this was "filled with Biblical references massed against the Bishop, written in an extremely neat and clear hand" (Haliburton 1964, 105).

³³Haliburton 1964, 105.

background and he is said to have had his religious conversion through a dramatic encounter with God. In this encounter, he was commanded by the Spirit to burn all his fetishes. He was also instructed to make a wooden cross which he carried about throughout his preaching career, which began around 1917.³⁴

Oppong is said to have received his baptism from an African A. M. E Zion minister, the Reverend Fosuhene. He got involved with the Methodist Church through the Rev Barte Plange, a methodist minister at Bekwai in the Ashanti Region. Plange introduced Oppong to Rev W. G. Waterworth at Kumasi in 1920. In October of the same year, the Revd Harry Webster, the then Chairman of the Methodist Church in the Gold Coast, met Sampson in Kumasi "dressed in a long white gown, carrying a wooden cross, and crowned with a garland of flowers".³⁵

The Ministry

Oppong, though unable to read and write, had an remarkable knowledge of the Bible -- something he attributed to the agency of the Holy Spirit.³⁶ Through the prophetic ministry of Oppong within the Methodist Church, the church was able to make a record time harvest of souls in Ashanti, an area where Christianity had been held in considerable distrust. In 1923, the Methodist Church claimed 20,000 converts through the activities of Oppong.³⁷ The incredible harvest is described by Webster thus:

Chiefs and people have confessed their faith in Christ in such numbers that, for the moment, my colleagues are at their wits' end to find either accommodation or teachers. They have enroled over a thousand during the past week.³⁸

Sampson visited Cape Coast in 1923 and the *Gold Coast Leader*, a local news paper, reported thus:

³⁴G.M. Haliburton 1965. The Calling of a Prophet. *The Bulletin of the Society for African Church History* 2:1, 92.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷The Methodist Recorder, London, 3 May, 1923, quoted by Haliburton 1965, 93.

³⁸Archives, Methodist Missionary Society; quoted by Haliburton 1965, 92.

This man, an uneducated peasant... saw the vision of the cross of the Risen Jesus, and was compelled to preach to the Ashantees. He carried a wooden cross and a Stone wrapped in a handkerchief. From looking at the Stone, he cites with great exactness and precision every text from the Book of Life. He surprised Cape Coast.³⁹

Sampson is said, in the eyes of the Methodist Church to have fallen from 'grace' and have refused to accept Methodist discipline 'in certain matters'.⁴⁰ The mass movement is said to have lost its momentum, but the church is said to have kept in touch with his converts, a work which was said to be arduous, as described by Southon:

Surely no men, have ever worked harder in the cause of Christ than those who drove themselves mercilessly day after day through the great forest, gathering the converts together and steadying them in that dark hour when the fall of a venerated leader threatened to destroy their faith in God.⁴¹

He retired to his native village, and in the area around carried on evangelistic work until his death in 1965.⁴² Haliburton describes him as "a prophet, one specially inspired and sent by God, and endowed with superhuman powers, including prescience."⁴³

The ministries of Harris, Swatson, and Oppong appear to have emerged "in reaction to a Christianity which denied or explained away the miracles and mighty works attested in the New Testament".⁴⁴ These renewals were indeed to colour the of Christianity in the country

³⁹*The Gold Coast Leader*, Cape Coast, 27, October, 1923, quoted by Haliburton 1965, 94.

⁴⁰Haliburton 1965, 95. Debrunner mentions that Oppong later took to drinking. That he seduced a little girl and was fined heavily by the Paramount Chief of Dormaa Ahenkro. He was subsequently excluded from the Methodist Church. He later "made his peace with that church and became a local preacher at his home town at Akuntanim" (Debrunner 1967, 311).

⁴¹A.E. Southon 1934. *Gold Coast Methodism*, 149 cf. Haliburton 1965, 95.

⁴²Haliburton 1965, 95.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Arnold Bittlinger. *Charismatic Renewal: An Opportunity for the Church?* *Ecumenical Review* 1979: 31, 248.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY RENEWAL MOVEMENTS

The Spiritual Churches

Though Harris, Swatson and Oppong did not set out to form independent denominations, some of their followers for various reasons, found it necessary to establish congregations which are now known as the *Spiritual Churches*.⁴⁵ What is commonly termed *Spiritual Churches* in Ghana belong to what Turner has referred to as *Prophet-healing* churches or '*Aladura Church*' types. The two prominent marks about these churches, according to Turner, are to be found in their "central beliefs about revelation from the Spirit through prophets and a practical salvation in which healing is prominent".⁴⁶ The term "Spiritual church", according to Baeta, is

Intended to signify that, in their worship, the groups concerned engage in various activities which ... are either meant to invoke the Holy Spirit of God, or are to be interpreted as signs of his descent upon the worshippers.⁴⁷

The Pentecostal churches and the Spiritual Churches may be seen as belonging to the same church type because both groups apparently emphasise on the pneumatic elements of the Bible. But as one researcher has observed, "while they are so near as to have confused scholars, ... they are so apart from a theological/biblical index".⁴⁸ In Ghana the term "*spiritual church*" was originally used to include the classic pentecostals but because of sharp differences in theology and ethos between the

⁴⁵Until recently the numerical growth of the spiritual churches outstripped both the Pentecostals and the historic churches (See *National Church Survey 1989*. Accra: GEC, 5 cf. *National Church Survey 1993*. Accra: GEC, 95).

⁴⁶H.W. Turner 1968. A Typology of African Religious Movements. *Journal of Religion in Africa* I: 28.

⁴⁷C.G. Baeta 1962. *Prophetism in Ghana*. London: SCM, 1.

⁴⁸O U Kalu 1992. Testing the Spirits: A typology of Christianity in Igboland Revisited, 1890-1990. An unpublished seminar paper presented at University of Edinburgh (Faculty of Divinity, CSCNWW), in 1992.

two groups, a distinction has since been made.⁴⁹

The Origin of the Spiritual Churches

The origin of these churches is traceable to the year 1914, when Harris' evangelistic activities reached the Western Province. The Twelve Apostles Church, popularly called *Nackabah* in Ghana constitutes a continuing result of the activities of Harris in the Western Province in 1914. This church therefore appears to be the first of the spiritual churches.⁵⁰

After the birth of the Twelve Apostles Church, some other spiritual Churches emerged. Most of the churches Baeta discussed in his book came into existence between 1914 and 1930.⁵¹

The Pentecostal Churches

The second strand of the renewal movement in the country, is the Pentecostal movement. The origins of Evangelical Ghanaian Pentecostalism is largely traced to Peter Anim, and his **Faith Tabernacle Church**. Out of this organisation emerged

⁴⁹The major pentecostals (Christ Apostolic, Ghana Apostolic, Church of Pentecost, and Assemblies of God), for some time called themselves "*Holy Spirit churches*" (J. Anquandah 1979. *Can the Church be Renewed?* Ecumeniical Review, 255).

⁵⁰The converts of Harris during his activities in Western Province included a woman named Grace Tani, a native of Ankobra Mouth, and John Nackabah of Essuawua near Enchi. Nackabah baptised John Hackman, a convert from the traditional religion. These three, believed to have been endowed with the gifts of healing and prophecy, founded the Twelve Apostles Church. As a result of the prominent role John Nackabah played within the emergent movement, his name became synonymous with the name of the group. This resulted in people coming to call the group by his name. After the deaths of Grace Tani and Nackabah, the mantle of leadership fell on John Hackman, who later made Kadjabir, 12 miles from Sekondi, his seat. Kadjabir subsequently became the headquarters of the organisation (C.G. Baeta 1962. *Prophetism in Ghana*. London: SCM).

⁵¹The main works on the **Spiritual Churches** in Ghana are: C.G. Baeta, *Prophetism in Ghana*, 1962; D. M. Beckmann (1973) *Eden Revival: Spiritual Churches in Ghana*. London: Concordia; F.W.B. Akuffo 1975. The indigenization of Christianity: A study of Ghanaian pentecostalism. D.Phil. dissertation, Keble College, Oxford.

three of the four leading classic pentecostal churches in the country: **the Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of Pentecost, and the Apostolic Church.**⁵²

The development of the movement has been profoundly influenced by two dedicated and charismatic figures, **Peter Anim and James McKeown.**⁵³ Anim's movement which was started in 1917, entered into an affiliation with the UK Apostolic Church in 1935. In 1937 James McKeown, was sent to the Gold Coast as a missionary of the UK Apostolic Church, to work with Anim's group. In 1939 Anim and McKeown parted company because of strong disagreement on divine healing and the use of preventive and curative medicine. Anim reorganised the remnants of his followers under the name the Christ Apostolic Church. McKeown, joined by some sympathizers from Anim's group continued to work as a missionary of the UK Apostolic Church until 1953 when he seceded from the parent body to lead his own indigenous movement. The year 1953 therefore saw the emergence of three Pentecostal bodies in the country all having the words Apostolic Church as part of their names. Thus we had Anim's Christ Apostolic Church, McKeown's Gold Coast Apostolic Church, and the UK related Apostolic Church of Gold Coast. These three bodies and the Assemblies of God, became the four main Pentecostal bodies in the country.

The Apostolic Church of Gold Coast

After the secession the Apostolic Church in Ghana was reorganised under the leadership of Cyril Rosser.⁵⁴ Perhaps for fear of another secession, the reorganised

⁵²**The Assemblies of God**, a North American pentecostal body, came in 1931. Until recently it was the smallest of the four classic Pentecostal churches in the country.

⁵³The discussion of Anim and McKeown and the movements they founded will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

⁵⁴Rosser joined the Nigerian team in 1934. When George Perfect left Nigeria in 1935 he became the superintendent of the work. C.B. Sercombe took over the work in Ghana from March 1954 to 1959. H.L. Copp from October 1954 to 1960. F Johnson from 1961 to 1967. H.L. Copp came back in September, 1965-1966 as a relieving Superintendent. Sercombe came back in 1969 and served until 1973. E.H. Williams was the last superintendent of the work in Ghana. He served from October 1973 to October, 1980. The Church traces its origin in the country to 1935. A

church was run with an absolute control from UK until 1962 when it was given a mandated autonomy.⁵⁵ When Gold Coast attained political independence in 1957, the organisation changed its name to **the Apostolic Church of Ghana**. The Church achieved full autonomy in 1985 and Ofori Addo, one of the men who helped to reorganise the work after the secession of McKeown, became the first Ghanaian president of the Church. In the process of time, David Tenobi, referred to by many as *man of controversy*, fell out of favour with the leadership. He could not become one of the key leaders, in spite of the major role he played during the 1953 crisis. Matters went so badly that Tenobi's book on the history of the Apostolic Church, published in 1985, did not receive official recognition. It was actually banned by the leadership of the Apostolic Church from distribution among the membership.⁵⁶

Ofori Addo was retired in 1986⁵⁷ and Peter Attah Antwi took over the leadership of the organisation. He served in an acting capacity for one year before he was promoted as the substantive head of the church in Ghana. He has served in this capacity up till the present time.⁵⁸

Before the British Apostolic Church made contact with Anim, the American Assemblies of God had already started missionaries activities in Northern Territories.

monument at the headquarters of the Church (Kaneshie) has the following inscription: Pastor George Perfect: The first missionary who came to the Gold Coast to establish the Apostolic Church".

⁵⁵The period of the **"Mandatory Autonomy"** was 1962 to 1985. The title of Filed Superintendent was changed to Chairman. During the period of the mandatory autonomy, all pastoral appointments and promotions were ratified in UK before ordination in Ghana. Minutes in Ghana were sent to UK for ratification before their adoption. Salaries of missionaries were paid by the UK office whereas car maintenance allowances and travelling expenses were borne by the local church.

⁵⁶Pastor David Tenobi's book, *A History of the Apostolic Church in Ghana*, was published in Accra in July 1985.

⁵⁷He was unhappy about his retirement so he attempted to secede, but the Church was able to avert that.

⁵⁸ The vice president is Pastor James Gharthey, who joined the church in 1952.

The Assemblies Of God

The Assemblies of God (AG) was the first foreign pentecostal body to work in Ghana.⁵⁹ The Rev Lloyd and Margaret Shirer, Assemblies of God missionaries in Mosiland (Wagadugu) crossed over to the northern region of the then Gold Coast in 1931. They found the land ready for missionary activities so they returned to the USA to recruit missionaries. They returned to the Gold Coast in September, 1931 with their first recruits, Miss Beulah Buchwalter and Guy Hickok.⁶⁰ The Shirers and their team first settled at Yendi on the invitation of the Ya-Naa, King of Dagbon.⁶¹

The early AG missionaries are said to have been seasoned and experienced missionaries. Their most outstanding missionaries seemed to be Lloyd and Margaret Shirer.⁶²

The Shirers closely associated with the northern people "*more than missionaries ordinarily do*".⁶³ They served the AG until after the Second World War when they left the direct service of the AG in order to place their services at the disposal of the government department of social welfare and community development.

⁵⁹The American Assemblies of God was formed in 1914 as an offshoot of the Azusa Street revival. It initially began as a fellowship of pentecostal ministers but later on it developed as a White American pentecostal denomination.

⁶⁰Miss Buchwalter while in the States, enrolled at Central Bible College. She returned to the GC with another worker, Miss Florence Blossom (now Mrs Ed. Beck). They initially settled at Kumbungu, near Tamale. During the war it became difficult to recruit couples for the field so at one time Miss Beulah Buchwalter and Florence Blossome found themselves the only missionaries on the field. Buchwalter died on 15th November, 1942 and she was buried at Yendi beside Guy Hickok. Health was a problem for most of them. Guy Hickock died within two years of his arrival. Miss Buchwalter had to leave for the Canary Islands in March 1934 with the hope of regaining her health. Finally she had to leave for the same reasons for the USA in January 1935, with the children of the Garlocks, John and Ruth.

⁶¹AG 1981. *The Ghana Story 1931-1981*, 3.

⁶²Mrs Shirer (formerly Miss Margaret Peoples) was among the first AG missionaries who crossed by bicycle from the Conakry, to Ouagadougou. She was the first Westerner to speak Moore, the language of the Mossi. After a long term there in the Mosiland, she went on furlough and married Lloyd Shirer. They then returned as a couple for another term before going to the Gold Coast.

⁶³Debrunner 1967, 327. Emphasis mine.

The Shirers were so popular in the North that Rev Lloyd Shirer was made a chief by the people.⁶⁴

The construction of the necessary facilities for the mission stations and language study were the two main activities that occupied the early missionaries. Stations were built in Tamale, Walewale, and Bawku.

Henry B. Garlock joined the AG in 1932, the Eric Johnsons in 1934. Thelma Godwin first came in 1937. They were first to set up and run the Bawku mission station. When the Godwins arrived in Bawku a chief came to call on them. The chief is said to have stated "This is the man of God I saw in my dream. This is the one whom that One with bright light about him said would come and lead us into truth".⁶⁵

The Evangelistic Strategy of AG

The first clinic was among the Konkomba tribe about 40 miles northeast of Yendi in 1948. The building of the clinic was erected by the McNutts. The McNutts had gone to the Gold Coast as builders. They saw the need for medical work as well as gospel work, so went from village to village dressing sores and preaching the gospel. Ozella Reid and Ruby Johnson went to Saboba to work the first part of 1949. Another clinic was built at Nakpanduri. It functioned under Hilda Eichen and Betty June Shackleton. A third clinic (maternity clinic) was set up at Walewale under Vivian Smiths.

The Kumasi station was opened in 1944, and Takoradi station in 1945. The Southern Ghana District council was inaugurated in 1950, a year after the inauguration of the Northern Ghana District Council. In spite of AG's early activities in Southern parts of Ghana, the numerical growth up to the 1970s was very slow. One of the reasons may be due to the fact that

The Pentecostal element is less pronounced in this Church than in the Apostolic Church. The Assemblies of God are a somewhat Puritan

⁶⁴Ibid. By 1951 he was already serving as a **Community Development Officer** in Tamale (*Welfare and Mass Education in the Gold Coast 1946-1951*. Accra: Government Printing Dept., 9).

⁶⁵*AG The Ghana Story*, 12.

Church, leaving individual missionaries much personal freedom to adopt the mission policy they think most suitable.⁶⁶

Unlike the other pentecostal denominations, the work of the Assemblies of God was heavily dependent upon a western financial and personnel support system. Between 1931 and 1970 about 99 missionaries worked with the mission in various capacities: Typists, clerks, cooks, and building contractors were all included in the list. It appears the sacrificial life style of the early AG missionaries like the Shirers, were not followed by later ones. Leonard reports that:

According to James [i.e., McKeown], not only did the Americans find it hard to overcome in-bred colour prejudice, but they were so rich and highly educated, they seemed to the Africans to be from another planet.⁶⁷

Until recently the A.G. was the smallest church among the mainline pentecostal denominations. As at 1978 it had 151 churches as compared to 1,209 for the Church of Pentecost, 370 for the Apostolic Church, and 255 for the Christ Apostolic Church⁶⁸. The actual numerical growth of the church took place when the organisation became less dependent upon American missionaries. Perhaps the numerical strength of this church seems to have influenced the apologetic tone of the following statement:

Every Assemblies of God Mission station and Bible Institute in Ghana is strategically located. Not one fails to serve a specific need. As a result, the actual influence of the Assemblies of God is many times greater than its numerical strengths. Government originally asked that Maternity Clinics be opened in Saboa and Nakpanduri.⁶⁹

The organisation's achievement is more profound in the areas of health needs of the people and literature development than in the area of church planting. It was

⁶⁶Debrunner 1967, 326.

⁶⁷Christine Leonard 1989. *A Giant in Ghana*. Chichester: New Wine Press, 100. On 3 December, 1948 the AG aeroplane christened Ambassador, landed in Accra, bringing the Wheller Andersons, Ruby Johnson and Ozella Reid to join the missionary family in the Gold Coast. This perhaps throw some light on McKeown's observations.

⁶⁸This is compiled from the G.E.C National Church Survey, 1989, 24.

⁶⁹The Ghana Story, 15.

able to create a vernacular literature, and managed to produce a tentative Dagomba version of the New Testament.⁷⁰ The AG gained autonomy in 1970 and the first Ghanaian General Superintendent, Elijah L. Namyela Panka, was appointed to office the same year. He served until 1986 when he was succeeded by S.B. Asore. The Church started seeing real numerical growth after 1988 as a result of a nation-wide evangelistic strategy which its present Ghanaian Superintendent, S.B. Asore initiated.⁷¹

In 1969 the mainline Pentecostal bodies came together to form what is now the Ghana Pentecostal Council in order to present a common front to the political authorities.

THE GHANA PENTECOSTAL COUNCIL

In spite of the problems of secessions that characterised the early part of the development of the movement, one thing that remained clear to the protagonists. It was however felt that the gains of the movement could be well preserved when a pentecostal ecumenical body was formed. The formation of this evangelical council seems to be the most significant collective achievement of the movement in this era, considering the controversies that characterised its early period.

The GEF was formally inaugurated on the 3rd March 1969. The founding organisations were: The Assemblies of God, the Church of Pentecost, the Christ Apostolic Church, the Elim Pentecostal Church, and the World Wide Evangelization Crusade.⁷²

Two meetings held by representatives of these bodies between April 1969 and

⁷⁰The AG did not engage in any primary or secondary school work. It rather maintained three Bible Schools: the Northern Ghana Bible Institute, Kumasi Bible Institute, and later on the Southern Ghana Bible Institute, Saltpond.

⁷¹Interview with S.B. Asore, September 16.9.93.

⁷²Since Elim's ministry in Ghana was later absorbed by the Church of Pentecost, and the activities of the World Evangelization Crusade have come under the now Ghana Evangelism Committee, the number of the founding churches has since stood at four.

March 1970 led to the appointment of the officers to run the Fellowship:⁷³

The original aims of the Fellowship were five fold, expressed in the following terms:⁷⁴

i. To provide fellowship among Evangelical Christians as a means of unified action directed towards spiritual revival in the Church, active evangelisation and effective witness to, and safeguard of, the evangelical faith outlined in the Fellowship's Statement of Faith.

ii. To cooperate with similar evangelical bodies elsewhere, holding the same tenets of faith.

iii. To alert Christians to trends and spiritual dangers which would undermine the Scriptural foundations of the Gospel Testimony.

iv. To assist member churches by rendering special services like emergency relief; and to provide representation before Governments or other Agencies when necessary.

v. To assist in every way possible in activities such as evangelism and missionary outreach of the Churches, literature, radio, Christian education, ministries in the Church and at home such as Women's Fellowships, Men's Fellowships, Sunday Schools, Youth Organisations; to help in secondary and advanced academic educational training programmes, including Bible training schools.

In order to give spiritual significance to this alliance, representatives of member bodies held a pastors' spiritual retreat. This was held at Trinity College, Legon, from 8th to 15th September 1970. It was attended by 60 delegates from the founding churches. The theme of the retreat was "**Pastoral Responsibility**", and the

⁷³Chairman - Pastor J.K. Gyanfosu (Assemblies of God)

Vice Chairman - Pastor J. E. Egyir-Paintsil (Church of Pentecost)

Secretary - Pastor R.F. Gaskin (World Wide Evangelisation Crusade)

Other executive members were:

E. Ofori Addo (The Apostolic Church)

D.T. Teinobi (Elim Pentecostal Church)

Dr. E. Grau (Trinity College) Dr Grau, an evangelical, was for some time the principal of the Trinity College, Legon.

⁷⁴This is contained in COP Church Council Minutes, March 1970, 20. Information on this may also be found from the office of the General Secretary of the GPC.

speaker was Dr Grau.⁷⁵

Developments Within the GPC

The GPC has now grown into national prominence. It is one of the five major religious bodies recognised by the constitution of Ghana.⁷⁶ The Chairman of one of the founding churches (the Church of Pentecost), Prophet Martinson Yeboah, serves as a member of the Council of State. The Council, because of its strategic position in the country, has also been able to host major international and national programmes.⁷⁷

The membership of the council has grown over the years. Total membership as at 1989 stood at 35. By the beginning of 1993, membership had reached 64. Among the member churches are the Deeper Christian Life Ministries, the Foursquare Gospel Church, the Action Faith Ministry, the Divine Healer's Church, and the Apostolic Reformed Church.

At the early days of the Council, admission into it was more difficult than it is now. Some of the emerging neo-pentecostal churches who wanted to join could not do so because of one particular qualification which was difficult for them to meet. It was required that applicants should have more than one congregation. This was however difficult for some of the new churches to meet since the emphasis then was on the building of single mega-congregations instead of several smaller congregations under one denomination. This requirement has since been waived.

The GPC as a national body, consists of Regional, District, and Local branches. Each branch elects its own executive officers made up of the regional, local, and district heads, as the case may be, of member churches. The branch executives oversee to the activities of their respective branches. This arrangement has become

⁷⁵COP Council Minutes, March, 1970, 20.

⁷⁶The other religious bodies are: the Christian Council of Ghana, the Catholic Secretariat, the Moslem Representative Council, and the Ahamadiyya Movement.

⁷⁷Among other things, it hosted Bonnke's 1985 Ghana Crusade. It also organised thanksgiving service for the Fourth Republic in which Rawlings and his ministers were inducted into office.

necessary in order to achieve a broad national representation.⁷⁸

The National Executive Council

The governing body of GPC is the National Executive Council, which consists of all heads of member Churches and their Secretaries.⁷⁹ The Steering Committee is concerned with the implementation of the objects of the Council, and the execution of all decisions of the executive council.

The President and Vice President are elected from the four founding churches. This means that until this clause is amended, the non-founding members will never be eligible to the presidency or the vice-presidency. The positions of the General secretary and the National Treasurer, are however open to all the member churches. The other Executive Council members are elected from heads of Churches who have served as ministers for not less than ten years. This means that until 1993 none of the leaders of the neo-pentecostal churches could qualify. This therefore has been a major point of contention.

The development of this association has not been a smooth one primarily because of member churches' pursuing parochial interests vis-a-vis the interests of the Council.⁸⁰

The COP seems to wield great influence over the Council. This is largely due

⁷⁸A more detailed information on aims and objectives, statement of faith, membership, admission into membership, the composition and functions of the national executive council, and other relevant data is found 1993 edition of the GPC constitution.

⁷⁹There is a Steering Committee of the National Executive Council, which comprises

- a. The President
- b. The Vice-President
- c. The General Secretary
- d. The National Treasurer, and
- e. Three other Executive Council Members.

⁸⁰This problem was highlighted by various speakers during a recent GPC Pastors' Seminar (*Pentecost Fire*, issue 88, 1989, 15).

to its numerical and financial strength. It has in the past given an unparalleled material and human support to the Council. For example the present building that houses the GPC secretariat was donated by COP.⁸¹

From all indications, it would be reasonable to suggest that, none of the founding members can really withdraw from membership permanently, since there is no other ecumenical body they can join apart from Christian Council of Ghana, something they will find it very difficult to do.

For the foreseeable future, due to the fact that there is no other pentecostal fellowship which is recognised by the constitution, it seems GPC will continue to grow in terms of membership. Whether or not it will achieve a corresponding respect and influence on the socio-religious and political institutions, will largely depend upon how the leadership addresses itself to present and up-coming challenges.⁸²

Other Pentecostal Bodies

Other Western Pentecostal bodies have since initiated missionary activities in the country. The UK Elim Pentecostal missionary, David Mills and his wife, Margaret, started working at Koforidua, Eastern Region, in 1966. Very little was accomplished in three years. The work of Elim was formally absorbed by the Church of Pentecost in 1972. The COP has been in fellowship with the UK body since.

Other pentecostal bodies operating in the country include the **Four Square Gospel Church**, Church of God, (Anderson, Indiana), Church of God of Prophecy, and Pentecostal Holiness Church. These western pentecostal bodies in the country, apart from the Assemblies of God, are at the very margins of the movement.

Between the middle of the 1980s to the beginning of 1990 some serious changes were already taking place within some of the denominations. Three English congregations were set up in the country in the late 1980s by COP: two in Accra and

⁸¹The temporary offices cost 3.5 million cedis (about £5000 then). The keys to this building was handed over to the President of GPC, Rev S.B. Asore, by the Chairman of COP, Prophet M.K. Yeboah, in March 1990.

⁸²One of such challenges is a constitutional one: the willingness to amend the present constitution of GPC so that the leadership of the neo-pentecostal churches will be eligible to serve as "President" and "Vice-President" of the Council.

one in Kumasi. These congregations were meant to provide a suitable place of worship for certain segments of the society who were less comfortable within certain parts of the ethos of the mainline pentecostal churches. In 1993 the two congregations in Accra were merged, to form the **Accra International Worship Centre**. It assumed a characteristic life-style which seemed to have undermined some of the long-standing, "non-negotiable" rigorist ethos of COP.

The movement started as a grass root movement struggling with the issue of identity, afflicted by secessions and counter secessions. The divisions resulting in various churches are but the results of human failings. These schisms have always been contained by the resilience of the movement. The various secessions rather than undermining the growth and development of the movement, appear to have contributed to its growth, as Wyllie has noted:

We cannot entirely accept the idea that the dissension and fission that seethed around the activities of McKeown and Anim were necessarily drawbacks in the development of Pentecostalism in Ghana. Out of the various disputes and conflicts new groups were created and it may be suggested that the controversies and the resulting secessions contributed to the vitality of the movement as a whole. Without men like Anim and McKeown the Pentecostalist movement in Ghana might well have retained its unity. But it is also possible that the movement would have become stagnant and moribund.⁸³

By 1993, COP and CAC had already begun to trek the path of "high-tech". Computers are in use to improve performance. Almost all the top executive of COP now move around with mobile telephones, thereby overcoming the communication difficulties which hitherto have hindered some of the activities of the organisation.

The movement has now moved from the fringes of the society into the centre, without losing contact with its grass roots base. Through its various institutions,⁸⁴ it

⁸³Wyllie, 121f.

⁸⁴These includes their songs and choruses which are sung by the public more than any other songs in the country. The religious music market, which is now the most profitable area in the music business, sells mainly the songs of the pentecostals, either in their original forms or adapted forms, unrestrained by any copy right regulation. Recently Rev Dr Effa Ababio, a minister with the Presbyterian Church of Ghana, and the current Protestant Chaplain of the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana, revealed during an interview that the Bible Study and Prayer Group of the Presbyterian Church, the evangelistic wing of the church, used mainly the pentecostal

has established itself as the movement of the people, both high and low, becoming the fastest growing movement in the country.

The Charismata Within the Mainline Churches

In the western world the Charismatic movement within the mainline churches began in America within the Protestant church in 1960 and in Roman Catholic Church in 1966. O'Conner,⁸⁵ Hollenweger⁸⁶ Quebedeux⁸⁷, Hamilton⁸⁸, and others have traced the roots of the Charismatic movement to early 1960 when Rev Dennis J. Bennett, an Anglican minister of St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Van Nuys, California, publicly announced to his parishioners during a Sunday service that he had received the baptism of the Holy Spirit and had spoken in tongues.⁸⁹ His assistant is said to have immediately handed over his vestments to the vicar in protest. Despite the furore that followed Bennett's action, he remained in the Anglican Church and thus helped to pioneer the movement within the denomination.

The phenomenon became publicly known within Roman Catholicism in 1966 when some faculty members of Dusquesne University in Pittsburg, after reading David Wilkerson's *The Cross and the Switchblade* and John Sherill's book *They Speak with Other Tongues*, decided to seek for this experience by attending prayer meetings with a pentecostal group.

songs and choruses at their meeting. This has led the leadership to issue a statement advising them not to neglect the hymn books of the Presbyterian church.

By 1993 the songs of the pentecostals were the main songs played by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation DJs. The Government therefore had to put a stoppage to it by directing that religious songs should only be played on the air during the "Listener's Choice" programme on the request of a member or members of the public. Interestingly, this was soon ignored by the DJs.

⁸⁵E.D. O'Conner, CSC, 1971.

⁸⁶W.J. Hollenweger, 1972.

⁸⁷Richard A. Quebedeaux, 1975.

⁸⁸Michael P. Hamilton, ed., 1975.

⁸⁹An account of this is found in Rev Bennett's book *Nine o'clock in the Morning*. Eastbourne: Kingsway publications, 1970.

A lecturer of the Department of Theology, Ralph Keifer, received the *Spirit baptism* during one such prayer meeting. There were annual conferences of the Catholic charismatic renewal movement in the USA from 1967 to 1974, at Notre Dame, Indiana. The first one took place in February 1967 in which 70 representatives were present, the number grew up to 1,500 in 1970, and 37,000 in 1974. These meetings have been decentralised since 1974.⁹⁰ Participants of these conferences included "thousands of pastors and priests, as well as a number of bishops, archbishops and professors of theology".⁹¹ Most of these are believed to have also experienced the *Spirit baptism*. The spokesman for the Catholic charismatic renewal has been Cardinal Leo Suenens, Primate of Belgium. He saw the movement as the main hope of renewal in the church. Suenens was appointed by Pope Paul VI as official contact person between the Vatican and the movement.⁹²

On the Ghanaian scene there have been instances of renewal and the practice of the pentecostal ethos within the mainline churches from an early time.⁹³ In spite of this early appearance of the charismata within the mainline churches, the phenomenon did not become nation-wide until the beginning of the 1970s. This is the

⁹⁰Arnold Bittlinger 1979. Charismatic Renewal. *The Ecumenical Review* 31, 247.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Sampson Adum, the prophet in charge of the Suhum New Town prayer camp, received the Spirit baptism at the hands of the then Catechist of the Old Mangoase Methodist, who had the experience himself (Personal interview with Prophet Adum at his Suhum New Town Prayer Camp on 4th September 1993).

Apostle J.A.C. Anaman, a one time Assistant Chairman of McKeown's organisation, experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit before joining the Apostolic Church (Interview with Mrs Eunice Addison, the daughter of Mrs Obo, the first interpreter of McKeown, on 9.9.93. Cf. the funeral programme of Anaman, July 1993).

Apostle C.S.T. Owuo, the founder of the Apostolic Reformed Church was involved in the healing ministry as a Presbyterian minister. He is said to have been excommunicated from the Presbyterian church when he embraced the pentecostal ethos. Owuo, like many others, got his pentecostal experience after associating with the Pentecostals. When Owuo was excommunicated, he joined McKeown's Apostolic Church until 1958 before seceding to form the Apostolic Reformed Church.

period when the phenomenon became recognised as a potent force within the mainline protestant denominations.

The Presbyterian Church of Ghana

Conflicts with tradition made it difficult for early development of the movement within the Presbyterian church.⁹⁴ The leadership, however, could not resist for too long when various groups emerged spontaneously in different parts of the country. The problem came to the fore when in 1930 some young ladies led by one young lady of a Baptist background, in the Ramseyer Presbyterian church in Kumasi, started prayer meetings in their Sunday School sessions. This resulted in a prolonged conflict with the elders of the church.⁹⁵ Later, similar developments were reported in other parts of the country. Later the Warden of Ramseyer Centre organised a conference at Nkawkaw, Eastern Region, in March 1965 to deliberate on the matter.⁹⁶

⁹⁴It is reported that in some extreme cases some members of the Presbyterian Church who had the experience of the glossolalia, were considered insane and thereby thrown out of the church. James Gyimah of the Akroso Presbyterian Church was a typical example. An incident of this nature is reported to have taken place at Nsawam in the Eastern Region. Elder J.W. Asare and Pastor E.A. Ayisi, of the Ghana Pentecostal Council secretariat have information of instances of this incident. Interestingly, Nsawam now seems to be the epicentre of Prophetism within the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. Here, every Friday, special healing services take place.

⁹⁵A. Atiemo 1993. *Charismata in the Mainline Churches*. Accra: Asempa, 24.

⁹⁶Delegates from Abetifi, Nkawkaw, Mpraeso, Obo, Akwasiho, Kumawu, Kibi, Akim Tafo, and Bechem were invited. All these towns but Bechem are located in the Eastern Region. About 116 delegates are said to have attended this conference. This conference marked the birth of what has now become "The Bible Study and Prayer Group of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana (This happened to be the Region where the Apostolic Churches made their greatest impact during the early days of the movement).

Subsequent to this, during a Synod meeting in 1965 at Akropong Akwapim, a committee was appointed to study the sects, prayer and Bible study groups, and to examine their practices and how far they conform with the practices of the Presbyterian Church. The committee, in 1966, submitted its report and the Synod formally accepted the Bible Study and Prayer Group. A committee was thus appointed by the Synod to draw up a constitution for the group (Synod Minutes,...47, quoted by Atiemo, 24f.).

There are some charismatics within the Presbyterian Church who do not belong to the Bible Study and Prayer Group. A section of the Young Peoples Guild (YPG) and the Resurrection Youth Club of the Church of Resurrection, Accra, for example, practice their pentecostal spirituality in their respective groups. Some of the clergy and laity exercise the charismata at the personal level.⁹⁷

Those who practice the charismata in the Presbyterian Church may be grouped into two: those who follow the spirituality of classic pentecostal churches, and those who follow that of the spiritual churches.⁹⁸

The Methodist Church of Ghana

There exist prayer or healing groups within many of the circuits, led by ministers and lay persons. Recently some congregations have developed to some extent like pentecostal congregations. The Church has come under increased pressure as to how to categorise the movement within the church. The Methodist Conference meeting in 1993, among other things, debated whether the charismatics should be organised as a movement within the church or not. A committee has been appointed to work on this.⁹⁹

The Charismatics within the Methodist Church may be grouped into the

⁹⁷Atiemo, 25. Rev Atiemo lists Revs Nyantakyi Anim of Obomeng and Kwame Amoakumah among the pastors who exercise the charismata. Pastor Nyantakyi is said to heal with edible salt. Pastor Amoakuma is believed to exercise the gift of healing and prophecy. Among the laity who practices the charismata are Maame Yaa Bram of Akim Awisa and Madam Agnes Okyerewah of Agona Asafo (Atiemo, 34).

⁹⁸Atiemo for instance has made the following observation: Those who emphasize the need for personal commitment to Jesus Christ, the importance of the experience of the "baptism in the Holy spirit", and spiritual growth through prayer and Bible Studies, and those who "adopt techniques or methods from the spiritual churches: candles, holy water, incense, and olive oil are commonly used in their healing services". He observes that at times it is "difficult to differentiate between their practices and that of some sects like Nackabah and Musama Churches. It is not uncommon to find both forms in the same congregation" (Atiemo, 23).

⁹⁹Interview with the General Secretary of the Methodist Conference Rev Dr Brew Riverson on 27th September, 1993.

following categories:¹⁰⁰ Congregational-centred type;¹⁰¹ person-centred church-based type;¹⁰² the independent type.¹⁰³

The movement seems to have now influenced large sections of the leadership and the laity. Key leaders like the Rev Dr Brew Riverson, General Secretary of the Methodist Church, and Rev Moses Owusu Antwi, General Manager of Methodist Education Unit, have all been influenced by the phenomenon. Rev Owusu Antwi states that almost 70% of the membership of the church are charismatics, and it is spreading fast. As to whether there is opposition by certain segments of the leadership to the movement, Rev Antwi tells me, "those who are new to the phenomenon are quiet", and that there is no open hostility.¹⁰⁴ Atiemo mentions that the various forms of charismatics in the Methodist Church seem to enjoy maximum liberty in their operations and some groups looking for "leadership, guidance, and fellowship" have even aligned themselves with their counterparts in the Presbyterian Church.¹⁰⁵ Some

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 27.

¹⁰¹This one operates like an average Pentecostal congregation. The gifts are allowed to operate normally during the various services of the church. This type is under the control of the local leadership, with a large number of the leadership including the pastor as charismatics. Here the charismata does not function only at the meetings of a particular group. Rather it is part of the spirituality of the entire congregation. Bible study, tithing, prayer, glossolalia, prophecies, and visions are all emphasised here. The Mount Olivet congregation of the Methodist Church falls within this category.

¹⁰²This one centres around an individual or individuals in the congregation. This may be among the clergy or the laity. Special sessions are organised in the church during which the gifted individual/s could exercise the charismata. Here, the continuity of the practice depends largely upon the availability of the individual.

¹⁰³This type takes place privately outside the precincts of the church. Prayer and healing sessions are at the private level. It is possible to find among this category "the wearing of special dresses, white gowns and cassocks and the use of olive oil, holy water, and lavender. Some of the leaders here assume the titles "prophet/prophetess"

¹⁰⁴Interview with Rev Moses Owusu Antwi, General Manager of Methodist Education Unit, and Rev Ralph Djokoto formerly of the Methodist Church, on 27.9.93.

¹⁰⁵Atiemo, 27.

receive inspiration from the classic pentecostals. Not all the charismatics in the Methodist Church have remained within the church. Men like Rev Ralph Djokoto have found it necessary to move out of the Methodist Church in order to join a neo-pentecostal church, Manna Mission Church.¹⁰⁶

The Roman Catholic Church

Though the Charismatic movement in the Roman Catholic Church is represented by the Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) and the Holy Spirit Prayer Group, evidently, the CCR is the most influential wing of the movement in Ghana.

Early attempts to establish the movement in the country may be traced to 1971 when two prayer groups were established in Koforidua and Accra about the same time. The Koforidua group did not survive for long. It was not until 1972 when two Medical Mission sisters, Jean Salgot and Ellen Hummel, who had previously had contact with the movement in the United States started a group in Kumasi. The two sisters were later on joined by Father Ernest Sievers, a lecturer at St. Victor's Seminary at Tamale. The three worked together to establish the "Centre for Spiritual Renewal" in Kumasi.¹⁰⁷

The movement organised the First National Leaders' Conference at the University of Science and Technology, from 4th to 8th of September, 1986. The conference drew 2,500 participants including a bishop, priests, seminarians and observers from the Caribbean, Nigeria and the Ivory Coast.

The Third National Leaders Conference took place at the same venue from 29th October to November 2, 1992. The conference attracted 1,300 delegates. About 30 priests, 12 religious sisters and two seminarians were among the participants. Delegates from other parts of the world were also in attendance. Members of an

¹⁰⁶He, however, still maintains strong contacts with the Methodist church. Interestingly, Rev Djokoto's Rema Video and Literature shop is housed in the headquarters building of the Methodist Church in Accra. The shop stocks mainly pentecostal-revivalist literature and videos featuring some key American pentecostals like Oral Roberts, Kenneth Hagin and Benny Hinn.

¹⁰⁷Information on the renewal is found in the booklet *History of Charismatic Renewal in Ghana* published in 1986 by the National Service Team/Accra Catholic Press.

evangelistic team of Youth With A Mission (a Pentecostal organisation) participated briefly in the proceedings as observers.¹⁰⁸

At the time of the celebration of its 20th Anniversary, the CCR had 800 Prayer Groups, and a National Office had been established to direct and co-ordinate the affairs of the movement. Now a National Service Team (NST), Diocesan Service Teams (DSTs), and Parish Service Teams (PRTs) have been established all over the country.¹⁰⁹ By 1994 the prayer groups of the movement had already reached 1,200.¹¹⁰

In 1992 the group assessing its achievements could say that:

The Renewal has stirred up the desire of many Catholics to pray and read the Scriptures daily. The sacramental life of the Church that seemed to be dead or dying in most Catholics is coming to life. Through the efforts of the Renewal, the exodus from the Church is reduced. There is now deeper commitment on the part of most prayer group members. In most Parishes, Prayer Group members lead Sunday schools, teach catechism lessons, and are community leaders.¹¹¹

The Renewal also organises prayer meetings, crusades, parish and diocesan congresses, national week of prayer and fasting, Pentecost vigil, and **Life in the Spirit** as well as **Growth in the Spirit Seminars**.¹¹² It has strong emphasis on evangelism. Like the Pentecostals and their offspring (the neo-Pentecostals), it sees a direct correlation between the *baptism of the Holy Spirit* and evangelism.

The Renewal is of the view that there could be no meaningful evangelization without the Pentecost experience. Out of Pentecost-

¹⁰⁸*New Breath* 22: 6f.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 22, 14.

¹¹⁰Cephas Omenyo 1994. The Charismatic Renewal in Ghana. *Pneuma* 16:2 (Fall), 173.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*

¹¹²The **Life in the Spirit** seminars seek to lead people to a deeper Christian life in the power of the Holy Spirit. They are "intended to help people turn to Jesus to become holy, Christ-like men and women, filled with the Spirit of Jesus" (page 1 of the manual of the *Catholic Charismatic Renewal Life in the Spirit Seminars*). The **Growth in the Spirit Seminars** is series of basic Christian teachings. It is a follow up to the Life in the Spirit seminars.

Baptism of the Holy Spirit flows the power to proclaim the **GOOD NEWS** with signs and wonders. ... out of New Pentecost will flow New Evangelization. May the Lord continue to pour his Spirit over us to enable us always to be obedient to the call to evangelize. Mark 16:15: "He said to them, 'Go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation'"¹¹³

All has not been smooth with the Renewal. Relationship between Parish and Renewal Community has not always been cordial. In some cases conflict have been serious, leading to secession. Recently, the Legon Catholic Charismatic Renewal suffered a major secession when the group could no longer tolerate the anti-establishment attitude of the two key charismatic figures in this group. Stephen Mensah and his brother Stanley Mensah put them in direct conflict with the Bishop and some members of the Legon group. In the process, the two brothers seceded with a section of the Legon members to form the Legon Charismatic Evangelistic Ministry in 1993.¹¹⁴ A recent development in the Charismatic renewal within the Catholic Church is the development of the Ohwiem healing centre called **Christian Hope Ministry**, Kumasi. The leader, Francis Akwaboah, who has fully adopted the spirituality of the neo-pentecostals, claims "We don't preach church doctrine, we preach Christ". The mode of operation here is like the prayer camps, where needs such as demonic affliction, marital and infertility issues, general sickness and

¹¹³Ibid. Most of the leaders of the Renewal have come under a strong influence of the classic Pentecostals. Some of them were initiated into the Spirit Baptism by members of the Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches. For example Mr Elvis Nyarko who is in charge of the Diocesan evangelisation Team, Accra, and also the Bible Study Secretary of the Legon University Catholic Charismatic Group, told me during an interview on 4th January, 1994 that he received the baptism of the Holy Spirit when Elder E A Boate prayed for him during a prayer and fasting week organised by the S.U. at Tamale, Ghana. Elder Boate was at one time the National leader of Pentecost Students and Associates (PENSA), the students wing of the Church of Pentecost.

¹¹⁴Interview with Elvis Nyarko (Bible study and evangelism coordinator) and Mrs Philomena Nortey, (Coordinator), Legon Catholic Charismatic Renewal, on 15.8.93. Stephen, who before the secession was in some kind of strong alliance with some of the leaders of the neo-pentecostal churches, did not find much problem in establishing this new organisation. He was ordained on 8th of August, 1993 by Rev Eastwood Anaba of Broken Yoke Ministry, Bolgatanga, Ghana. Interview with Pastor Leslie Tetteh Buabassah (alias Leslie Tex). Pastor Anaba was formerly with Duncan Williams' Christian Action Faith Ministry (CAFM) as a member.

economic/financial related needs are identified and dealt with. His deliverance days according to Gifford, attract two to three thousand people.¹¹⁵

Other Mainline Churches

Almost all the Baptist congregations have become what Gifford has termed "radically charismatic".¹¹⁶ These congregations include two of the big Baptist congregations: Calvary Baptist Church, Accra, and the Grace Baptist Church, Kumasi. The Calvary Baptist Church is the largest and the most influential of the Baptist congregations. This Church is fully pentecostal in ethos and theology.¹¹⁷

The congregation has maintained its charismatic ethos till now, inspite of the secession of Stephen William in the late 1980s to form another neo-pentecostal group. One of the ministers who have been instrumental in holding teachings on the Holy Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit is Pastor Wisdom Defeamakpor, a professional accountant. His Friday evening teaching services on the Charismata have contributed to the members' understanding on this subject in the church.¹¹⁸

One man who had a brief association with the Calvary Baptist Church but had to leave to establish his own independent congregation was Rev Dr John Mensah

¹¹⁵Gifford 1994. Ghana's Charismatic Movement. *Journal of Religion in Africa* XXIV: 3, 252f.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 238.

¹¹⁷The Calvary Baptist Church which started as a fellowship became a full church in December 8, 1968. Rev Stephen Williams, an African- American, formerly with Eden Revival Church, took over the leadership of the congregation in 1978 when the congregation had about 250 members. Stephen Williams one day, I am told, stood before the congregation and announced his pentecostal inclinations and indicated that the church, thenceforth, would be moving towards that direction. This was readily approved by majority of the members. The church began to grow rapidly from that point. The initial opposition from some western missionaries of the Convention became irrelevant when Calvary Baptist Church provided half of the Convention's budget in a single year.

¹¹⁸I owe a debt of gratitude to the Rev. Dr. Osei-Bonsu, D.Min., one of the senior pastors of the Church, who provided me with much of the data here.

Oduro.¹¹⁹ His congregation, the Community Baptist Church, now has a membership of about 600. It is a full neo-pentecostal Church. In addition to the Church, Oduro also runs a primary and nursery schools in one of the deprived areas in Accra: Zongo near Madina, Accra.

The Evangelical Presbyterian Church

One of the factors that have led to a major schism in the Evangelical Presbyterian Church was the issue of the charismata. At some point the charismatics within the church appear to have gained a strong influence. It was the charismatics who stood against what they considered the heretical teachings of its former moderator, Dzobo.¹²⁰ Now what may be considered as the more evangelical faction of the church has seceded to form what is now called the Evangelical Presbyterian Church of Ghana. Though this faction is not yet a member of the Ghana Pentecostal Council, it is favourably disposed to it.¹²¹

Para-Church Renewal

The para-church movement is the fourth strand of renewal movement in the country. The late 1960s and early 1970s saw what may be considered as an evangelical/ pentecostalist revival in the country. This revival resulted in the proliferation of several nondenominational evangelistic associations in many parts of the country, especially southern Ghana. These associations included: Agbozo's Ghana Evangelical Society (GES); the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association (HOVCEA); Youth Ambassadors for Christ Association (YAFCA); National

¹¹⁹ Dr Oduro holds a Ph.D and Th.D. degrees from Azusa Pacific University, and one other American institution.

¹²⁰ This information was provided by Mr Jude Hamma, the present General Secretary of the Scripture Union. Hamma belongs to the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana.

¹²¹ For instance, in 1993, the Church invited the then G.S. of the Church of Pentecost, Rev Ato Addison, as its guest speaker during their 1993 anniversary celebrations.

Evangelistic Association (NEA).¹²²

This pentecostalist revival began to influence the spirituality of the two Christian fellowships working among students: Scripture Union (SU), and the University Christian Fellowship. Later, the SU Town Fellowships were also born.¹²³

The Neo-Pentecostal Movement

The aftermath of the evangelical/charismatic renewal in the 1960s and 1970s saw the development of new independent pentecostal churches, some becoming huge churches in less than a decade from their emergence.

This movement emerged within the economic and social difficulties in the country. The message of these churches is a focused reflection of the economic and social realities of the time. Some of them carry their messages in the socio-economic realm to the realm of liberation theology.

Pentecostalist Prayer Camps

Another strand of renewal movement in the country where salvation is pursued in the most vigorous forms is the **pentecostalist prayer camps**. This kind of *healing centres* almost exclusively operates around one key person: the prophet-healer. The camps are now major healing centres after the established hospitals. Like the traditional new cultic shrines, all sorts of issues are dealt with here in addition to healing. The *here and now* aspect of salvation as well as *hereafter* aspects are all dealt with here. Though this kind of healing centres has very early origins within the pentecostal movement, the form they have now assumed, and the number of camps that have recently emerged, makes this movement a recent phenomenon.

¹²²See Samuel Adubofuor 1994. *Evangelical Para-church Movements in Ghanaian Christianity: c1950 to Early 1990s*. Ph.D diss., University of Edinburgh.

¹²³Though the SU has been operating in the country for more than 100 years, mainly in the second cycle institutions, it assumed the pentecostal spirituality only from the late 1960s. The UCF operated mainly in the country's tertiary institutions. Adubofuor suggests that it was basically through these para-church organisations and other interdenominational fellowships like the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, and Women Aglow International that the pentecostal spirituality entered the mainline churches (Samuel Adubofuor, Ph.d thesis, **The Para-Church Movement**, University of Edinburgh, 1994).

Sociologically, the prayer camps belong to Turner's "congregational" and "clientele" types.¹²⁴

Summary and Significance

Thus the twentieth century *great stirrings* have produced six different strands of renewal movements in the country. One common aim of these various strands is: ***the Achievement of Salvation***. Whether this idea of ***Salvation*** is interpreted primarily in terms of the *here and now*, or the *hereafter*, or a combination of both, they have basically emerged as a result of social and religious encounter. Whether in the case of Anim in the 1920s, Otabil and Normanyo in the 1980s, Owusu Tabiri in the 1990s, or the para-church movement and the renewal movement within the older churches, the reasons for their emergence appear to have been the same: a longing for a true Christian religion that is capable of answering humanity's deepest yearnings. The Pentecostals believe they have inaugurated a full gospel movement where God is present in power with his people, not only in the future, but also in the present: to heal their diseases, calm their fears, protect them from wicked spirits, and provide for their needs in a context where death, decay and deprivation abound.

In the ensuing chapters, using Anim's Christ Apostolic Church, McKeown's Church of Pentecost, and Otabil's International Central Gospel Church as case studies, we will attempt to establish how salvation is perceived and appropriated by the Pentecostalist movement.

¹²⁴Turner 1968, 31f.

CHAPTER THREE

PETER ANIM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRIST APOSTOLIC CHURCH

Introduction

Apostle Peter Newman Anim, formerly known as Kwaku Ani Mensah, was born on 4 February 1890 to Mr Simon Appiagyei and Madam Hannah Lartebea of Boso in the Volta Region of Ghana. He was the third child of six children and of the six, he lived the longest. He attended the Basel Mission school at Boso from Class 1 to Standard 3. He then continued at Anum Basel mission from Standard 4 to Standard 7 where he completed in 1908. In 1911 he joined his brother at Amonokrom (Akuapem) and, assisted him in his carpentry workshop. Later in the same year he left this town for Pakro to work with the Basel Mission Factory as a weighing clerk. However, he left this job in 1912 due to ill health. Later on in 1914 he became a brick layer. He left this job and went to Pakro again. He finally left for Boso, his home town, in 1916, and he was married to Madam Dora Sakyibea that same year. Their marriage was blessed with four daughters, three of whom died in rapid succession during their infancy. The wife died in 1920 after a short illness, and the remaining daughter died not long afterwards. He married Madam Esther Osimpo and out of that marriage was born Moses Appiah Anim, the only son and the only surviving child of Anim. Madam Esther Anim also died in 1967.

Anim In Search of Salvation

In 1917 Anim took an interest in a religious periodical, *The Sword of the Spirit*, which was in circulation in the country. This magazine was edited by an African-American, Pastor A. Clark, founder of the Faith Tabernacle ministry, Philadelphia.¹

He found the teachings in this magazine "a real blessing", because as he put it " though I had intellectually believed the Bible before, I never had the truth

¹The Faith Tabernacle was not a Pentecostal organisation but it had a strong emphases on faith healing, and holiness. These kind of emphases seemed entirely different from anything Anim's Presbyterian upbringing had taught him.

presented in a more realistic way...."² One of the teachings of the Faith Tabernacle of Philadelphia, was its emphasis on "Prevailing prayer". In 1920 following the death of his wife, he was converted "into the faith".³ Anim had been suffering from chronic stomach trouble for over thirty years. When in 1921 he had a guinea worm disease he decided to put into practice Clark's teachings on divine healing through prevailing prayer. He was healed from the guinea worm attack as well as his chronic stomach trouble.⁴

The Birth of Anim's Faith Tabernacle Church

The humdrum of the traditions of the Presbyterian Church could not assuage the stirrings of his heart. He therefore resigned from the Boso Presbyterian Church after his divine healing in 1921. He subsequently went and settled at Asamankese, in the Eastern Province.

Many people joined the church through healing. For example after the healing of the first sick person who went to Anim's group, the news of his recovery spread, and so several sick people were brought to the group for healing. Testimonies of the divine healing by prayer only spread throughout the regions, and several people came into faith.⁵ Anim, at this point, having been convinced of the truth of the teachings of Clark, adopted the name Faith Tabernacle for his organisation in 1922.

To reinforce the power base of the group, on 15th October, 1922, a revival service was held in the house of one Elder Kwabena Asare, and several converts were won. Anim and Armah, a devotee of Faith Tabernacle, Nsawam, then decided to work together and they officially adopted the name Faith Tabernacle for their organisation.⁶ The evangelistic activities of Anim attracted the attention of the then

²Peter Anim, n.d. *The history of How the Full Gospel Church was founded in Ghana*. Accra: CAC, 1.

³Ibid., 1.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 2.

⁶There was no personal contact by Pastor Clark with Anim. Every contact was through correspondence only. On October, 1923 Anim was issued with the

traditional chief of Asamankese, Nana Kwaku Amoah. In consequence, he offered them a parcel of land upon which they constructed their first new church building.

By 1923 Anim's movement had seen considerable growth. Pastors and elders were therefore ordained to assist him in 1924. Anim tells us "The truth had spread like fire. Churches were founded in Akwapim, Kwahu, Ashanti, Coaltar, Asuochene, Pampanso, Teshie, Nungua, Keta, Anlo, Togoland and other places with God's blessing".⁷ Another event which seems to have increased the faith of Anim and also added more people to the group, took place in May 1923 during a revival meeting. After the closing of service, it was reported that several Christians and non-Christians saw what was believed to be the Glory of God in the form of a 'Pillar of Fire' on the top of the Church building.⁸

'Certificate of Registration' by Pastor Clark "assigning him to the service of God and the right to baptise and appoint workers" (Anim's funeral programme 1984, 2). It was about the same time that Odubango and other Faith Tabernacle leaders in Nigeria were also consecrated to the ministry by Clark. Theirs was also done through correspondence. According to Peel (1968:64f) the teachings of the Faith Tabernacle Church include:

- Personal holiness
- Contrast between the wickedness of this world and the godly community of the sect;
- Wrongfulness of litigation;
- Non-participation in national celebrations
- Persecution as a mark of sanctity;
- Belief in the imminence of the Millennium;
- A distaste for acquiring property because of the imminence of the Second Advent;
- Glossolalic experiences regarded as satanic;
- Non use of medicine for healing.

He adds that Faith Tabernacle religion was unemotional, and the main importance of the Holy Spirit was that He had inspired the authors of the Bible thereby ensuring its infallibility.

Clark taught that visions were not useful. If one needs guidance, there was first the Holy Bible; then there was "sanctified common sense", then Providence. Visions and dreams could thereafter be considered.

⁷Anim, 3.

⁸Ibid., 2.

Inspite of this overwhelming success of Anim's evangelistic activities, he did not ordain any worker into the ministry until he had received the certificate of ordination from Clark in August 1923.⁹ Baptism by immersion appears to be one of the cardinal teachings of Clark, so he requested Anim to take immediate steps to fulfil this. Anim therefore submitted himself for baptism by immersion on the 3 December, 1923, by I. L. Bennett of Larteh Akuapem, one of Anim's leaders. He in turn baptised Bennett the same day.¹⁰

Later in 1923 the extent of work and the need for workers became clear to Anim. To take care of this need, a meeting was arranged at Winneba in the Central Province, on 28th December, 1923 to January, 1924. During this meeting, the church at Winneba was officially opened, pastors were ordained, and elders were anointed for the work.¹¹ Anim embarked on intensive evangelistic activities which saw the rapid spread of the work. By 1924 churches had been founded in Akwapim district, Coaltar, Asuokyene, Pampanso and Kwahu in the Eastern region; Teshie and Nungua in the now Greater Accra Region; Keta, Anlo (Awuna) in the now Volta Region; Togoland and other places.¹²

Anim in Search of Deeper Religious Experience

Controversy developed among the Faith Tabernacle believers when Clark was excommunicated in 1926 for alleged adultery. Meanwhile, Anim had been receiving copies of another religious magazine published by **the Apostolic Faith**, a pentecostal

⁹This is perhaps due to Anim's theological understanding that, though one's call into the ministry comes first and foremost from God, this call must be recognised by man. This certificate therefore is not an evidence of spiritual authority, but rather a sign of recognition by man of the one whom God had chosen.

¹⁰It is not clear what role this sacrament played and the form it took in the Faith Tabernacle. Anim indicates this baptism by immersion was not kindly taken by all and that some under the leadership of one Amoah, "filled with envy" decided to break away because of this act. This group, described by Anim as the 'lost sheep', returned later (Anim, 2, 3).

¹¹Anim, 3.

¹²Ibid., 3.

movement based in Portland, Oregon, USA.¹³ After carefully considering the teachings on the Holy Spirit espoused in this magazine, Anim states:

I was faced with the necessity of contending for a deeper faith and greater spiritual power than what my primary religious experience was able to afford, and I began to seek with such trepidation to know more about the Holy Ghost.¹⁴

Not all of Anim's pastors accepted the teachings on tongues. He writes:

This doctrine brought about the total exclusion from the Faith Tabernacle and the First Century Gospel in that they were entirely unacquainted with the operations of the Holy Spirit, not only did they not know but would not have anything to do with the teachings as recorded in 1 Cor. 12:1-12, 28-31.¹⁵

This however did not derail Anim from his course for they "continued to give careful study to the Apostolic Faith teachings".¹⁶ Anim therefore separated from the Faith Tabernacle in 1930 and adopted the name **The Apostolic Faith** in the same year.¹⁷

Anim "suffered great opposition at the hands of pagan and religious persecutors" in 1928 but this does not seem to have impaired the progress of Anim's movement. His attempts to share with the Pastor-in-Charge of the Faith Tabernacle in Accra the teachings on the Holy Spirit of the Apostolic Faith was unsuccessful, for the pastor thought Anim was in error. This however did not derail Anim from his

¹³This organisation was founded by Florence Louise Crawford in 1907. Crawford was a former staff of William J. Seymour's Azusa Street movement. She broke away from Seymour after he took a wife. Unfortunately for Seymour, when Crawford was leaving Azusa Street, she took away his mailing list without his knowledge, thereby depriving him of any contact with his numerous followers, which was the nerve centre of his ministry. Crawford, like Seymour, published a faith magazine called *The Apostolic Faith*. She died on 20th June 1936, and was succeeded by her son Raymond Robert Crawford.

¹⁴Ibid., 3.

¹⁵Ibid., 4

¹⁶Ibid., 2, 4.

¹⁷Anim never had any direct contact with Clark or any of his North American associates. The only contact was Clark's magazine and occasional personal letters. The same applies to his association with the Apostolic Faith.

course for they "continued to give careful study to the Apostolic Faith teachings".¹⁸

A major event which increased the publicity of Anim's organisation was the outbreak of the phenomenon referred to as "**Holy Ghost Outpouring**". Anim's faith was buttressed when a member of his organisation experienced the phenomenon of Spirit baptism in 1932. Stephen Owiredi, a member of Anim's group, went into the bush at his Brekumanso village farm which is near Asamankese, to pray for one of his twin babies who was sick. It was during this prayers that he had the extraordinary experience which is referred to by pentecostals as the baptism of the Holy Spirit. When this news got to Anim at Asamankese, he and two brothers: Danso, Abokyi, and two sisters: Comfort Nyakoah, and Oparebea went to the village. A prayer meeting was held at the village during which two sons of Owiredi and the two sisters who accompanied Anim received the experience.¹⁹

After this encounter at Brekumanso, Anim and his entourage returned to Asamankese to launch one of their greatest revivals from August 31st to September, 12. Anim recalled that:

At these meetings a great number of our Sisters received mighty baptism of the Holy Ghost, speaking in tongues, prophesying together with the manifestation of all other signs of the Apostolic promises, Acts:1-4; 10:44-46".... Prayer was continued and the Sisters filled with the Holy Ghost were moved to lay hands on the Brothers and some were baptised by the Holy Ghost. Brother Owiredi (junior) and I, received sanctification during the process of the Revival Prayer Meetings. Since that date, continuous tarry meetings were held and many people received marvellous healing (by Divine power) and God confirmed His Word with signs following. Here we realised in fact our paramount call to be the Apostles of the Faith as recorded in St. Mark 16: 15-20), and from that period the name of the Church had a world wide fame. People who were hungry for the deeper spiritual experience, and desirous of receiving the power from on high ... arrived from far and near in search of the Holy Ghost Baptism. As a result of practical demonstrations of the work of the Spirit as in the days of the Apostles and testified by public, many were converted and received the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and left

¹⁸Ibid., 2, 4.

¹⁹Ibid., 5.

[for] their various towns and villages--propagating the good tidings.²⁰

One Kwadwo Duku of the Atonsu Faith Tabernacle Church, near Kumasi, walked to Asamankese (a distance of about 160 miles) on hearing of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and he got the experience. On his return, one Brother Ankama and other members of the Atonsu Church also went to Asamankese on foot in order to receive the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Their wishes were indeed fulfilled at Asamankese. Brother Ankama's mother could not walk to Asamankese because of illness. She prayed for the baptism while in bed and she got it. Ankama's father, apparently became jealous of the whole drama particularly that of his wife. He also walked to Asamankese the following day and there he got it.²¹

The church enjoyed considerable growth because of this experience of Spirit baptism. The phenomenon in the church attracted some Christian leaders in the other churches. Anim states that:

There were several people in the country who were then upholding the Word of God in its purity, these people also having heard of the mighty outpouring of the Holy Ghost at Asamankese, and feeling the need for receiving the definite spiritual experience visited Asamankese from time to time and received the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Some of the believers were Pastor D. A Thompson, Pastor Nyarban of Achimota, Brother Okanta Chas. Ben. Otoo Ayebofo, Elder Alfred Ayifor of Accra, Mr Isaac Asare, government school master, Akim Oda, and many others.²²

This period was known as the **Holy Ghost Dispensation** among Anim's group. Anim indicated that the revival of 1932 spread to Ashanti, Togoland, Anlo (Awuna), Fanti, some towns in the Eastern Region, and many other parts of the

²⁰Anim, 6. At this point in time, Anim is said to have "received sanctification". Apostle Mika Asamoah, a one time personal assistant to Anim has indicated that, Anim did not experience the Spirit baptism at this time, and that he experienced the phenomenon some years later (Interview, 10.7.93).

²¹History of the Church of Pentecost, unpublished manuscript. This has also been confirmed by several other people including Apostle Mika Asamoah (interview, 10.7.93; Deacon Owusu Appiah, interview, 24.7.93).

²²Anim, 6, 7.

country.²³

Anim kept a regular correspondence with the leaders of the Faith Tabernacle congregations in Ghana and in Nigeria. He then learned that Pastor David O. Odubanjo, the leading Nigerian representative of the Faith Tabernacle who had also severed relationship with the Faith Tabernacle on the same issue of adultery, had established contacts with the UK Apostolic Church, and that representatives were going to visit Nigeria. This set into motion, the process that eventually led to the affiliation of Anim's organisation with UK Apostolic Church. It was not until 1931 that Odubanjo succeeded in getting three leading men from the British Apostolic Church: Apostles Daniel Powell Williams and William Jones Williams (founders of the organisation), and Prophet Andrew Turnbull to visit the remnants of the Faith Tabernacle assemblies in Lagos, Abeokuta and Ibadan. The visitors arrived from the Missionary headquarters of Bradford at the Accra Port en route to Nigeria on 21st September, 1931. Anim and two other members of his church : Godfried Asare and Alex Ankoma, accompanied the visitors on the final stage of their journey to Lagos.²⁴ They arrived in Nigerian on 23 September, 1931 (Vaughan 1991, 16), and series of revival meetings were held in the country. It was during this visit that Anim's Faith Tabernacle Church in the then Gold Coast established contacts with them. On 2nd June, 1932, Pastors Idris Vaughan (prophet) and George Perfect (Apostle) arrived in Nigeria as the first missionaries of the Apostolics to Nigeria. In 1935 while Perfect was on his way to the UK he spent two weeks with Anim at Asamankese. It was then that Anim's organisation affiliated with the UK Apostolic Church.

In 1935, against the opposition of Aperade and Pampanso assemblies, Anim succeeded in getting Pastor George Perfect to visit Asamankese on his way to Britain.²⁵ He spent a fortnight with the organisation. During his stay Perfect's

²³Ibid., 3.

²⁴Anim, 5.

²⁵George Perfect and Idris Vaughan were the first two missionaries of the UK Apostolic Church sent to Nigeria in 1932. It is not clear why some members within Anim's organisation should oppose the invitation of the Bradford missionary. It appears nationalistic tendencies are at work here.

ministry made a profound impact on Anim and his followers. For Anim, it is the evidence of the charismata that distinguishes a servant of God. It is for this sake that his movement "prayed diligently" and "sought for deeper spiritual experience".²⁶ Perfect stayed for two weeks, and Anim and his group became convinced that he

possessed the Gifts of Prophecy, and many other [gifts] of the Holy Ghost, befitting a servant of God as recorded in St. Mark 16:17, 18. Pastor Perfect preached the Gospel impressively, prophesied and cast out demons in Jesus' Name. His powerful prayers yielded marvellous results of healing. He made everything plain to us to trust God alone and also how King Asa failed, 2 Chron. 16:12. We appreciated his teachings which corroborated with our christian practices; such as divine healing, etc., soon we fell in love with him and before he returned to England, we became affiliated with the **APOSTOLIC CHURCH**, Bradford in 1935, and adopted the name.²⁷

It is apparent from the forgoing that what attracted Anim and his members to Perfect was the demonstration of power. In October 1936, Pastor Vivian Wellings, Missionary Secretary of the Apostolic Church, visited Anim's church at Asamankese from Britain. He stayed for a fortnight and his visit was found to be valuable. On his recommendation the missionary headquarters of the Apostolic Church agreed to send a missionary to Ghana. Anim states:

Before his departure he promised to recommend the Apostolic Church in the then Gold Coast to the Authorities in Bradford, with a view to sending out a Missionary who would stay and assist us in the Lord's work. We in fact, did appreciate his promise but assured him that the appointment of the proposed Missionary should be in a year's time. This would allow us to make sufficient preparation for suitable accommodation prior to his arrival, and that a person so full of faith and a good Spiritual Leader as Perfect was ideal and of immense spiritual value.²⁸

After the affiliation Anim requested Bradford to send a resident missionary to assist the work. In 1937 the Bradford missionary headquarters of the Apostolic Church sent James McKeown as their first resident missionary. Before the affiliation with and

²⁶Ibid., 8.

²⁷Anim, 7f.

²⁸Ibid., 8.

subsequent arrival of McKeown, Anim's movement had assumed the following characteristics:

- a. Strong emphasis on prayer;
- b. Strong belief in divine healing without recourse to any form of medicine, preventive or curative;
- c. The experience of glossolalia was also an established phenomenon among the group;²⁹
- d. Strong evangelistic ethos.

McKeown-Anim Encounter

On 2 March 1937, McKeown arrived in Accra by sea and was met by Apostle Peter Anim and some of his leaders. They escorted him by car to Asamankese, the then headquarters of Anim's organisation. His wife, Sophia, joined him in September of the same year.

McKeown fully participated in the construction of the mission house where he would be permanently accommodated. McKeown's devoted efforts on the project won the admiration of many.³⁰ He contracted malaria in May 1937, and he became very ill. The District Commissioner, Kibi, accompanied by Anim, took McKeown to the Ridge Hospital, Accra. This created a theological problem for Anim's followers:

In fact this proved a severe blow to the faith of the Church members, who had been taught that, in the case of sickness, believers should trust God only for their healing.³¹

McKeown was discharged from the hospital on the 11th day after admission. He "resumed the gospel work" at Asamankese. It later became clear that McKeown's theological perspective on divine healing was different from the position espoused by

²⁹Beckmann incorrectly states that "speaking in tongues was apparently first introduced to an indigenous church by a missionary from Britain's Apostolic Church who arrived in 1937" and that the introduction of *trance* and *glossolalia* into the "indigenous Christian worship is perhaps the most important influence missionaries from Britain and America have had within the spiritual church movement" (Beckmann 1975, 38, 42). Before Adutwum got this experience within the Assemblies of God in 1942, and McKeown's arrival in the country in 1937, trance and glossolalia were already being practised by Anim's group.

³⁰Anim, *Full Gospel Church*, 9.

³¹Ibid.

Anim's organisation. Anim writes:

As time went on we were convinced that he was deviating from the doctrine of divine healing evidenced by his teachings which were conflicting with those of Divine Healing, that our teaching on Faith/Divine Healing had gone to the extreme.³²

McKeown, not wanting to jeopardise the faith of the believers, in June 1938,

He freely expressed a wish for a change of station and he left Asamankese to [go to] Winneba with his wife, two native girls, Abana and Jane [and] a steward boy. This move was of course against the decision of the Asamankese elders. Notwithstanding, there was no split in the movement at that time.³³

At McKeown's request a meeting was arranged at Asamankese towards the end of 1938. At this meeting two main points were on the agenda:

McKeown informed the members of his proposed leave of absence, and wanted to know if the church had any case against him so that it could be settled. He also wanted to know those who wanted to rely on prayer only for healing without the use of any form of medicine.³⁴

Apparently the church did not have anything against McKeown since he had endeared himself to them by dint of his disciplined life and hard work, so the most important matter that came up was on divine healing. Though the whole membership affirmed the teachings of the church on the matter, just a day after this meeting some of the members dissented, as McKeown had predicted.³⁵

On McKeown's departure for the UK, he was given a letter addressed to the missionary headquarters of the Apostolic Church, Bradford,

In which we invited the Apostolic Missionary Committee's attention to the fact of our belief and views regarding Divine healing--our Lord's work at Calvary as complete saving power for our spirit, souls and body and that we have found God to be true and faithful in our

³²Ibid., 10.

³³Ibid. When the McKeowns left Asamankese, they stayed briefly at Akroso before finally settling at Winneba.

³⁴Ibid., 11.

³⁵Ibid.

practical experience.³⁶

While McKeown was in Britain, Anim received a reply to his letter one from Bradford, stressing the need for unity, referring them to Romans 15: 1-7.³⁷ Later, after the arrival of McKeown from his leave, another letter came from Penygroes, the administrative headquarters, stressing the need to cooperate with McKeown.³⁸

When McKeown arrived from leave, Anim visited the Winneba assembly and took the opportunity to visit McKeown, to welcome him back to the country, and also to discuss further the issue regarding faith healing.

On this occasion McKeown was firm and he warned Anim that his uncompromising and extreme views on the use of medicine must lead to the expulsion of his group from the Apostolic Church.³⁹

Anim puts the story this way:

During our conversation he stated that owing to the unpleasantness of the teachings on healing ... I could not hold the name Apostolic Church since the name ... had been registered in UK ... and said my failure to co-operate would mean applying pressure.⁴⁰

Anim conveyed this information to the Assemblies and a meeting was called at Pepeade, where Anim's organisation finally ended its affiliation with the Apostolic Church in June 1939, and "it was prophesied that we should prefix "CHRIST" to the name Apostolic Church."⁴¹

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷During McKeown's leave, Pastor Kay, who was then in Nigeria, came to Asamankese to relieve McKeown. Due to ill health, Kay later had to be replaced by Sercombe.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Wyllie, 117. McKewon was not "dismissed" by Anim's organisation as Beckmann alleges (Beckmann 1975, 40).

⁴⁰Anim, 11.

⁴¹Ibid., 12. A similar controversy with the Apostolic missionaries took place in Nigeria in 1939/1940. George Perfect, Superintendent of the Apostolic Church admitted taking a daily dose of quinine as a prophylactic against malaria (S.G. Adegboyega 1978. *Short History of the Apostolic Church in Nigeria*, 75ff; cf. I.J. Vaughan 1991. *Nigeria: Origins of Apostolic Church Pentecostalism*, 23ff.). This led

The Birth and Development of Christ Apostolic Church

Thus, on the issue of divine healing, the two men could not resolve their differences. McKeown, joined by Anim's Akroso, Saltpond, and Winneba assemblies, formed the Apostolic Church of the Gold Coast, with its headquarters at Winneba. Some of the brethren from Akroso who teamed up with McKeown were S.R. Asomaning, C.K. Frimpong (also called Odoom), J. S. Gyimah, J.A. Bimpong, K. Nyarko, R.H. Dwuma, Philip Annor, Kwaku Asare and J.W. Amoako. Asomaning, who had previously been ordained by Anim, was the leader of the Akroso assembly. J. E. Smith and Baiden and the entire membership of the Winneba Church also followed McKeown.⁴²

Anim, amidst difficulties of theological controversies, secessions, and financial shortfalls, succeeded in establishing the CAC. Until his death in 1984 the organisation, though beset with organisational and financial problems, was undoubtedly an established indigenous pentecostal church.

Anim's organisation entered into a series of short-lived fellowships with different foreign bodies, the first being an American evangelical body known as the 'New Day Movement'. The churches under this movement were called '**Life and Light Assemblies**'⁴³. After the abrogation of this arrangement, some of Anim's

to the separation of a number of assemblies in the Lagos area from the Apostolic Church in April 1940. The break-away faction was led by D.O. Odubango, the leading African Apostle of the Apostolic Church, Lagos Area. This group after adopting different names, finally decided to adopt the name, **CHRIST APOSTOLIC CHURCH** in 1942 (Adeboyega, 135). Peel gives 13th July 1941 as the date this name was adopted, though he mentions that the "Church was formally incorporated on 4 May 1943" (J.D.Y. Peel 1968. *Aladura: A Religious Movement Among the Yoruba*, 112). Since the Faith Tabernacle years, the two different churches have been in close fellowship with another. This cordiality seems to have continued till the deaths of the early leaders.

⁴²*History of the Church of Pentecost*, first edition, n.d., 3. We will refer to this work as COP I, followed by the page number in subsequent citations; Tenobi 1985. *The Apostolic Church*, 9; cf. Anim, 12.

⁴³ The position of this organisation on divine healing seemed to have been in consonance with that of Anim's, but not the eschatological views of The New Day. Among other things, it held that: God would not cast anyone into the lake of fire. It is taught that tithing was not necessary. Instead members should give freewill contributions and offerings. It emphasised the celebration of 'Love Supper' in addition

members seceded to join this organisation.⁴⁴

In August 1957 Anim was retired after 40 years of service. His position was taken by one of his two senior assistant pastors, D. K. Brifo. Anim returned to settle at Boso, his home town. After some time he wrote to the Executive in stating that:

The Lord says it is not His perfect will according to various prophecies he spoke to you through some prophets or saints. Secondly it is not Scriptural to advise or force a spiritual leader to relinquish his post of authority by either the elders or the Council.⁴⁵

It appears the new leadership was not able to fulfil the commitment made to Anim for his upkeep. This may have contributed to his difficulties.⁴⁶

to the Lord's Supper'. One Pastor Ekpo, the movement's representative in Eastern Nigeria visited the Christ Apostolic Church at Asamankese to propagate the teachings of the movement. His trip was in fact financed by the CAC. Anim's relationship with this organisation was finally dealt a blow when the Rev R. M. Smith, the founder, who had recently remarried, died in hospital. Later on when the CAC executive found that the New Day teachings were incompatible with theirs they revoked the alliance. (Information from the archives of CAC. Personal collections; cf. Wyllie, 116).

⁴⁴A letter of 24th April, 1955 from the leadership of Aboso and Tarkwa Assemblies was addressed to the General Secretary of CAC to announce their secession: (Official letter from the Aboso and Tarkwa assemblies, dated 24 April 1955. Copy in the collections of the author). Some members from Takoradi and Abakrampa also joined the movement.

⁴⁵A letter from Anim to the Executive Board dated 21. 2. 58. Personal collections of the author.

⁴⁶In a personal letter to the new executive, Anim, quoting from James 5:4-6 and Deut. 24:14, 15 complained thus:

I am the Lord's labourer till death. I did not claim any wages from the start for so many years because I knew the work is my father's and is mine, and if new labourers are coming to receive wages higher than the founder of the work, you should think twice (2 Tim. 2:6.7). Mind you the money that came to us is not salary, but table allowance isn't it? What caused you to take away part of mine? You promised all to start new allowances from May, 1957 but up till now, the Father of the business never enjoys his allowance rather instead of doing so you take some of my balance and give it to me as gratuity is that right? You can meet me anytime you prefer so that we may go into account and balance me instead of forcing me to sign for gratuity.

... I have agreed with your advice to be pensioned provided that you may accommodate and lodge me and my family and to have free course to visit my

Things did not go well for the new leadership under Brifo. Dissension and alleged financial impropriety were reported.

Anim was unhappy about the situation. He writes:

Day and night my pillow was wet with tears while wrestling with the Lord in prayers. God then spoke to me thus: 'Why have you left my sheep idling and gone back to your kinsmen?' I replied that they pensioned me because of old age and gave my work to a young man. He said 'Open Isaiah 40:29-30.' Then the voice came: 'I gave the work to you and your people cannot pension you. Although I know you are old yet I will sustain you. Arise and go and care for my sheep.'⁴⁷

He subsequently convened a meeting at Nsawam on Tuesday, 7th June, 1960. All the church workers met at Nsawam for the meeting.⁴⁸ Some other meetings took place thereafter which seemed to have been arranged and chaired by Brifo without the knowledge of Anim. At a subsequent General Council meeting, Brifo's conduct was discussed and he was subsequently demoted to the level of a district pastor.⁴⁹ Contrary to the expectation of Brifo, the Nigerian brethren upheld the decision of the executive, and further recommended that Anim should be allowed to hold that position for life.

Brifo resigned from CAC thereafter and managed to sway some of the members of the church to follow him. He used the Revival Band, an evangelistic movement within the CAC, of which he was for some time president, to steer his

sons and daughters and the whole family of God. You were glad to accept my statement, but you forgot to note that the land of the Lord is my portion, I cultivated the farm in hope to get profit on it in future 1 Cor. 9:7-12.

⁴⁷Wyllie, 117.

⁴⁸At the meeting it was directed through prophecy that the headquarters of the church be moved from Asamankese to Accra forthwith. Anim's position as the leader of the organisation was also confirmed through prophecy. The meeting then charged the executive under Brifo with inefficiency and it was therefore dissolved immediately. A new Board, called the 'Steering Committee' was formed to run the affairs of the church until a new executive was installed. The eleven-member Steering Committee included D K Brifo as Chairman, and Anim as General Member.

⁴⁹This meeting was attended by Pastor J B. Sanya (formerly the Assistant Senior Superintendent in the CAC, Ghana) and J.A. Nedaiyese. They came as delegates from Nigeria to help settle the dispute.

secession. The Revival Band was changed to 'Christ Revival Church'. The churches in Kumasi, Bibiani, Nsuta, Beposo all in the Ashanti Region, and Takyiman, in the B.A. Region were severely affected. At Akim-Oda, the Yoruba's were temporarily swayed to the side of Brifo. The Yoruba elders resident in Bantama (Kumasi), managed to steer them back to the CAC. After the secession, the CAC lodged a property claim against Brifo's Revival Church. This was unsuccessful since the CAC was not registered and therefore had no trustees to advance the legal claims. The Revival Church refuted the claim and summonsed the CAC to the High Court at Sekondi. The CAC therefore had to prepare its first constitution in 1960, with which it was able to register its trustees. It then became a corporate body and was able to institute legal claims against the Revival Church. CAC won the case and was able to recover its properties from Brifo's organisation. The properties recovered included two estate houses at Bibiani.⁵⁰

Anim's organisation once again entered into another short-lived fellowship with the United Pentecostal Church, a unitarian pentecostal body in USA, in 1969. The contact with the UPC was made through a gospel tract. A fact finding contact made by Anim's organisation was followed by a visit into the country by UPC delegates: Rev J. O. Yohe (leader of the delegation), Rev J. T. Langham (representative of the organisation in Liberia) and Rev Rodenbush, the Secretary for Foreign Missions. Other visits followed this one, which eventually led to the signing of a fellowship agreement between the CAC and UPC on 27th of March, 1967, at Agona Swedru. P. N. Anim, J. G. Mintah (General Secretary), B. K. Owusu Appiah (General Deacon), M.R. Asamoah (Personal Assistant to Anim), signed on behalf of CAC. L. C. Upton, and C. F. McCarry signed on behalf of UPC. This alliance was initiated so that Anim's organisation could secure some material assistance for the propagation of the gospel. At an emergency board meeting we read that:

The President told the Missionary all about the formation of the Christ Apostolic Church since 1922 and said that the Church had reached a stage where he felt it necessary to seek for Foreign Associates to widen the scope of the Christ Apostolic Church. He then appealed to the Missionary for such aids as vehicles and equipments for the propagation of the gospel. A group

⁵⁰Brifo's organisation remained in existence until 1966, when he and most of his followers returned to the fold (Interview with Owusu Appiah, 24.7.93).

within the Church soon charged that the oneness doctrine was heretical and threatened to break away.⁵¹

A joint council of CAC Ghana and CAC Nigeria met on the 12th of November 1968 at Teshie to settle the matter. A resolution was prepared on the 12th November by the joint council of the CAC Ghana and Nigeria, denouncing the Unitarian doctrine. When the resolution was presented for signature all but Pastor E.N. Apemah signed. His failure to sign the document led to his expulsion from the church. Other pastors who were sympathetic with the unitarian doctrine but signed the document were Pastor E. Larbi Asamoah (one time general secretary), and his father: Apostle Mika Asamoah (the personal assistant to Anim), and Pastor Amoani.⁵²

Pastor Mika Asamoah subsequently wrote to the Revd. Oscar Vouga, the Director of Foreign Missions, St. Louis, Missouri, USA, on 30th July, 1968, informing him of developments within the CAC, and enquired on the possibility of forming a local branch of UPC. In a subsequent letter dated 26th September, 1968, Asamoah submitted the names of some CAC pastors and workers who were willing to secede from the UPC in Ghana. The Revd Samuel Lee Latta arrived in Ghana on 28th October, in 1968. He held a meeting with Pastor M. R. Asamoah and other UPC sympathizers during which the UPC constitution was accepted by the Ghanaians. The need for rebaptism in 'Jesus' Name' as a precondition for salvation was highlighted and a baptismal service was arranged the following day, 29th of November, 1969, at the Labadi Beach, Accra. From the beach the group went to Brother Nikoi's house where the UPC constitution was read and explained to Asamoah and his group. He then appointed the following as officers of trustees of the church:

Pastor M R Asamoah -- Presbyter
Pastor E.N. Ampemah -- Acting Secretary

⁵¹Soon after the signing of the agreement controversy developed. Few of the leaders felt it was a sell out. The Nigerians in the country were not adequately informed of the deal. They threatened to pull out of CAC. A meeting of pastors and elders was convened at Nsawam on 9th of September, 1968 to discuss the issue. A revelation on the matter was given through Prophet Fadoju. One group interpreted it to mean God's approval of the fellowship. Another group held to the opposite view. This led to a great unrest.

⁵²From the archives of Pastor Mika Asamoah. Personal collection.

Brother I. B. Nikoi -- Treasurer
Pastor Samuel Latta

The Trustees were: Brothers Samuel A. Amui, Benjamin Andoh, and F. J. O. Sasu. The UPC was thus registered in the country. At the first convention held at Asamankese in March 1969 about 600 fully baptised people attended. This gives a fair idea of the people lost to the CAC.

Apostle Saforo and the CAC

Among the key ministers that Anim had in his organisation was Pastor Daniel Saforo. He served as the chairman of the Finance Board for twenty years.⁵³ A faction of the youth within the Bantama (Kumasi) church accused Saforo of moral impropriety, and demanded his suspension. In the final analysis, the Labadi and Achimota assemblies of the CAC rallied behind him and they seceded to form the **Christ Apostolic Reform Church**.

Later on, certain controversies evolved in the Christ Apostolic Reformed Church. The Achimota Church, which had previously teamed up with the Labadi CAC Church to form the CAC Reformed Church, seceded from the CAC to form the United Calvary Church.⁵⁴

⁵³Daniel Saforo joined the CAC in 1945. Perhaps due to his comparative higher level of education among the clergy, he became the first director of the youth section of CAC. By 1960 he had already risen to the rank of an Apostle. (Information on Apostle Saforo comes from various sources, including personal interview with him on 31.8.93; Apostle S. K. Asare, Chairman of CAC; Florence Larbi, a former CAC deaconess; various council minutes in CAC archives some of which are in the private collections of the author).

⁵⁴The erstwhile Achimota Christ Apostolic Church was previously a prayer group, the United Prayer Group. It was started by Susan Kai Anum, (popularly known as "Auntie Susie"), a prophetess. Her Achimota based prayer group was absorbed by Anim's CAC. Because of her charismatic ministry, the Achimota church attracted some lecturers, students, and workers from the nearby University of Ghana, Legon. For several years now, Professor James Anquandah, of the Department of Archaeology, University of Ghana, Legon, had been one of her staunch leaders. (Anquandah was formerly the Secretary of Eden Revival Church and Director of the Eden school. He was healed at Miss Anum's Achimota prayer group of a stomach ulcer, and therefore decided to stay with the group. His wife however still worships at Eden, now F'den.).

Whereas Miss Anum's United Calvary Church has developed successfully after

Anim died on 7th February 1984, three days after his 94th birthday. He was succeeded by Apostle Peter Gamma, who was then the Vice President.⁵⁵ Gamma retired in 1986 and Apostle Daniel Boi Amoani succeeded him. The General Secretary then was Pastor Samuel Atuah Konah. Any innovation these could bring into the organisation was prevented by their untimely deaths. On the 4th of August 1986, after some official business in Kumasi, Apostle Daniel B. Amoani (Chairman), and Samuel Atuah Konah (General Secretary), met their tragic death through a car accident while they were returning from Kumasi to Accra. Other officials in the car were Madam Dorothy Koley (National Women's leader), and Pastor Owusu Fofie (Accra Regional Apostle). They sustained very serious multiple fractures but did not die.⁵⁶ Apostle Samuel Kofi Asare was appointed the Acting Chairman in 1986, the year of the tragedy. Fresh elections were organised in 1987, during which he became the substantive chairman.⁵⁷ The policies of the new executive appear to have been

her secession from the Christ Apostolic Reformed Church, all did not go well with Saforo and his fragmented CARC. He eventually had to leave the CARC and was later absorbed by the Apostolic Church. The Christ Apostolic Reformed Church did not survive for long and it eventually returned to the CAC.

⁵⁵Anim was the spiritual leader of CAC up till 1984. Because of his age, he was inactive for some time. The actual running of the organisation was therefore not in his hands. This created some leadership vacuum, a situation which the less spiritual could easily exploit for their own advantage. After his death the leadership of the organisation still remained in the hands of the old regime. The systems and structures became more ineffective and the finances of the church were completely dissipated.

⁵⁷Asare, who is now 52 years old, became an overseer in the CAC in 1963, and was promoted to a full pastor in 1970. The executive was elected on the March 7, 1987 and assumed office on 1st May, 1987. The administrative and fiscal policies of the new executive seem to have been effective.

The new chairman, Apostle S.K. Asare, was born into the CAC. His father is related to Stephen Owiredi, who is believed to be the first person to have experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit in the country.

very effective. There is an overall improvement in the organisation now.⁵⁸

In spite of this new encouraging developments in the organisation, there is still another major problem outstanding: "the Bantama Controversy". For some time Bantama branch of CAC (in a suburb of Kumasi), had been agitating for autonomy. Their request was turned down by the CAC leadership, in order to maintain the unity of the organisation.⁵⁹ Subsequently, the Ashanti Regional Pastor, Rev De-Graft Amanfu, accused the executive of embezzlement of funds, and unilaterally declared autonomy and its independence under the name the **Asanteman Christ Apostolic Church** on 15th of March 1989.⁶⁰ The GPC's recommendation was not acceptable to the CAC executive, and GPC has referred the case back to the National

⁵⁸The General Secretary mentions the dismissals of 35 pastors for "embezzlement, immorality, incompetence and laziness", "and several others who could not cope with the intense wave of strict administration and demand for hard work, moral probity and accountability ..." (CAC Newsletter, March 1990, 20). The personal impression I had when I visited their facilities at the head office was that the recovery of the organisation has been very rapid. The organisation now seems to be developing quite well in three different areas: numerical growth, strong financial base, and physical facilities. At the human level, the executive attributes its achievements to: "hard work and iron determination and ... pragmatic administrative and financial policies with close obedience to the direction of the Holy Spirit" (CAC Newsletter, March 1990, 2). It appears the engagement of more capable people in the forefront of leadership has been a significant factor.

⁵⁹The main reason for this agitation seems to be financial. The Region had the greatest potential to generate much of the financial support of the church, the secessionist think an autonomous status would be to its advantage (Interview with Owusu Appiah 24.7.93 and S.K. Asare, 2.9.93).

⁶⁰Probably because of the implications of the name on the Asanteman Traditional Council, the name was quickly changed to **Ode Nehu Christ Apostolic Church** with its Headquarters at Bantama, Kumasi. Sources include personal discussions with Owusu Appiah and S.K. Asare on 24.7.93 and 2.9.93 respectively. Mr Owusu Appiah was initially a signatory to the Kumasi group of dissenters. He later withdrew his signature when the matter went to the court. An interim court injunction was issued by the Kumasi High Court, banning the secessionists from using the church's building and property. The secessionists later took the matter to the Castle, the seat of the government. The government referred the matter to the National Commission on Culture, one of its agencies. The Commission in turn referred the matter to the Ghana Pentecostal Council. The GPC, after some deliberations, recommended, *inter alia*, that the secessionists, who at this time were willing to rejoin the church, be taken back into the fold by CAC.

Commission on Culture.⁶¹

The executive, no doubt, had to face challenging situations in the execution of its duties. This challenge, however, as we have indicated, is perceived from the context of the struggle between the agents of God and the agents of the devil.⁶² It has therefore engaged "a band of prayer warriors, praying daily to back the Administration".⁶³ The present leadership recognises that prayer alone is not enough and that it should be combined with "education, watchfulness and willingness to resist any future secessions." With these, they hope the future is brighter than before.⁶⁴

The Search for Authority

By 1950 councils like 'General Executive Council' and 'Missionary Council' had evolved.⁶⁵ The authority in the church rested with the General Executive Council or the General Council, with executive responsibility delegated to the clergy and representative bodies, in which church elders played a very major role.⁶⁶ By 1964, the church had developed six main councils: **Executive Council**,⁶⁷ **General**

⁶¹Personal conversation with Elder Ofori on 12 7 93, the administrative officer at GPC, and Rev Ayisi, the General Secretary of GPC on 13 7 93.

⁶²Ibid., 20.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵The Executive Council was the main ruling body of the organisation. The Missionary Council, *inter alia*, was the main body in charge of the evangelistic activities of the church and various matters like engagement, retirement and dismissal of field workers. Their decisions were subject to ratification by the General Council.

⁶⁶For example they were in charge of the day to day pastoral work of the local assemblies. Though there may be several elders in a particular local church, all these served under the direction of the presiding elder.

⁶⁷ This was made up of some Apostles or Senior Pastors selected by the Chairman to represent the various regions, or districts for immediate discussion of urgent matters. Eleven members were usually elected, seven of whom formed a quorum.

Council,⁶⁸ Regional or Area Council,⁶⁹ District Council,⁷⁰ Workers' Council,⁷¹ Executive Council's Executive.⁷²

By 1948 I. L. Bennett, Daniel Osei, and J.A. Armah, the early key leaders who supported Anim, were no more part of the leadership. Apostle Anim, the founder of the church, became the first Chairman/President or the General Superintendent.⁷³ Because of the close personal and working relationship the Ghanaian CAC had with the Nigerian CAC, by 1948 Pastor J.D. Sanya, a Nigerian, had been appointed Assistant General Superintendent of Anim's organisation.

The General Secretary of CAC, as in other organisations, has always occupied a very powerful position in the church. As at May 1947 Pastor A. A. Antiri was

⁶⁸This was made up of all Pastors, Overseers and Area Deacons. This council was usually held before general conventions to discuss matters affecting the church in general.

⁶⁹ This was composed of all elders, overseers, area deacons, pastors and Apostles in the region or area, to discuss matters affecting the Church in the District and forward necessary recommendations to the General Council through the General Secretary.

⁷⁰This was made up of all Elders, Overseers and Pastors in the various districts. They met to discuss matters affecting the Church in the respective districts. The recommendations of the district council were forwarded to the regional council.

⁷¹This was made up of all Workers---Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Teachers/Overseers of the church. The workers council meetings normally took place between August/September at a place and time appointed by the Chairman.

⁷²This body was an extract of Senior Officers of the Executive Council and consisted of Chairman of the executive council, Apostles, Senior Prophet, General Evangelist, General Secretary, Assistant General Secretary and General Treasurer. This body implemented all the decisions of the Executive Council. It also dealt with matters of emergency, arising from time to time in accordance with the policies of the church. This body was responsible to the Executive Council. The membership was altered from time to time at the discretion of the chairman.

⁷³Anim for sometime after the secession of Brifo was referred to as 'the founder'. Later, some of Anim's leaders felt that title was the sole prerogative of Christ so Anim could not use it without endangering his soul. It was therefore dropped. Perhaps this position falls in line with Turner's view that "In describing a church was founded by Africans, neither we nor the church concerned would overlook the fact that no man can 'found' a church except insofar as he is called and empowered by the Holy Spirit" (Turner 1968, 17).

occupying this position. He occupied that post until January 1948.⁷⁴ Pastor Daniel Koranteng, became the General Secretary after Ntiri. He served as the General Secretary until 1st November, 1954.⁷⁵ His position was then taken over by Pastor E. Larbi Asamoah. Pastor Larbi was still the General Secretary as at 14th June 1960. Pastor J. G. Mintah, a former member of the Apostolic Faith, became the General Secretary after Larbi.⁷⁶

The organisation, in its early years, maintained two administrative centres: the 'General Headquarters', based at Asamankese, and the 'Missionary Headquarters', based at Akim Oda. The missionary headquarters was created probably because Oda was a flourishing diamond mining town with a large number of Nigerians living there. Administratively, nothing concrete took place there.⁷⁷

By 1952 the work had spread through out the country. This therefore called for the creation of pastoral circuits in April 1952.⁷⁸ Each area was supposed to be

⁷⁴Somewhere between 1948 and 1950, Pastor Antiri was suspended for 6 months. It is not clear what the nature of the offence was. During the period of his suspension, he left the church. He appeared before the **Missionary Committee** at Akim Oda and petitioned to be taken back into the church. By the permission of the Missionary Council, he was reinstated at Asamankese on 30th April, 1950 as an ordinary member. His request for a reinstatement as a pastor was turned down by the General Executive Council. (Executive Council Minutes, September 1953. Private collections).

⁷⁵Pastor Koranteng was formerly a member of the Seraphim and Cherubim Church before he joined the CAC. He was also a police man by profession (Interview with Owusu Appiah, 24.7.93).

⁷⁶Mintah was still serving in this capacity as at 1970.

⁷⁷The need for creating a missionary headquarters for the church seemed to have been influenced by the system in use by the UK Apostolic Church which was also followed by the Nigerian Christ Apostolic Church. At the emergency meeting of the executive in November 1952, it was disclosed that Akim Oda was nominally known as missionary headquarters. It existed just by name. No duties as such were performed at Oda due to financial constraints, unlike its Nigerian counterpart in Ibadan, where many activities went on.

⁷⁸ Asamankese, Akim Oda, Kumasi, Mankessim, Somanya, Winneba, Tarkwa, Nsawam, Accra, Boso (V. R. District) and Keta. In November 1952 the executive again divided the country (The Gold Coast proper and the Ashanti) into 'Areas':
1. Abuakwa Area included Abuakwa, Agona, Akwapim and New Juaben areas.

under a Superintendent though as at this date, there were only two Superintendents in the CAC.⁷⁹ The work of the superintendents seems to have been very elaborate as the following record shows:

The inspection of Superintendents of their areas should be very keen and their duties are briefly defined here. On their inspection, they should see to the condition of the pastors and workers quarters if they are tidy and [healthy]; Assembly Hall or Chapel should also be inspected if it is kept clean and is spacious for the congregation and if whether the [site] is at a suitable place. Inventory Board, Tithe Book, Local Fund Cash Book, Register, etc. should be checked scrupulously. He should see if letters, minutes, circulars and Monthly News Letters are properly filed or kept. Backsliders should be interviewed and cause of their backsliding probed into. The sick and widows to be visited. Spiritual growth of the assembly. Number of times of town preaching and rallies. To investigate complaints in the Assembly if any. After each inspection, the Officer will give a detail report, one copy to the General Supt. and one copy to the General Secretary. Any Officer checking an Assembly will enter his remarks and signature in the Assembly Visitors' Book. Each Assembly will provide a Visitors Book.⁸⁰

Because of the strong evangelistic ethos of the organisation, all workers were subject to transfers at any time and to any place, but "always with the will of the Lord".⁸¹

Engagement and Training of Ministers

Before 1952, church members voluntarily offered themselves for the ministry. As and when money became available they were then appointed and posted. Those taken on were called "Workers". There were paid workers and unpaid workers. A worker could thereafter rise to a senior rank depending upon his performance. From

2. Kotoku Area was made of Kotoku, Fanti, Tarkwa, and Takoradi.

3. Krobo Area included Krobo, Togoland, Keta, and Ga-Adangbe.

4. Ashanti Area was composed of Ashanti, Sefwi, and the Northern Territories.

⁷⁹These were Pastor D. A. Owiredue and Pastor A.L.M. Botwe.

⁸⁰The September 1953 Emergency Executive Council Meeting (Private collections).

⁸¹It adds "the command says 'go ye into all the world....'" (GEC minutes, April 1952. Private collections).

April 1952, the criterion for the appointment of new workers was based on the visible evidence of outward signs of the Holy Spirit in the life and ministry of the prospective candidate. Later on, for the purpose of proper scrutiny of the eligibility of prospective applicants, applications for recruitment were submitted through the local pastors and elders.

The traditional form of apprenticeship was the system adopted for the training of the church workers. New workers were placed under senior pastors for their training. During the period of training they received a minimum monthly allowance from the central fund. Enrolling in this kind of school did not guarantee an automatic appointment into the ministry of the church. One could only be appointed after he had proven himself in areas like prayer, discipline, integrity, moral probity and accountability and evidence of the charismata. Trainees were not immediately put in charge of assemblies until they had undergone a thorough training under a pastor or pastors. This system of training seemed to have continued until the Bible Training Centre was established in Kumasi on 15th September, 1972.

As from September, 1953, business such as engagement of Workers, dismissals, promotions, pay increase, appointment of elders, deacons or senior deacons, became the responsibility of the Executive Council or the Executive Council's Emergency Board.⁸² This was to enable the organisation to centralise such matters and place them under the control of the ruling body.

If there was anything that attracted the people into the ministry of the church, then, it was not material rewards, for the church had no material benefits to offer. During the officers meeting of September 1952, many pastors and workers voiced their grievances on nonpayment of salary arrears due to them. At this meeting many cancelled all salary arrears owed to them. At the same meeting Anim, responding to the question as to why some workers had resigned and others had threatened to do the same, indicated:

The real and only cause is due to the meagre pay of the Pastors and

⁸²This was composed of: the General Superintendent, the General Secretary, the General Treasurer, the headquarters elders and the Pastors. Any decision taken at this level could be overturned by the Executive Council.

Workers in the church which are even not paid regularly" ⁸³

A year after this report we still realise that the situation with pastors/workers pay had not changed. Anim states that:

The present pay or remuneration as I may call it, for Pastors and Workers [is] disgraceful and questionable. To avoid shamefulness, grumblings and dishonesty, the Council found it reasonable and opportune to raise same. ⁸⁴

Finances of the Church

A Finance committee was in place from an early period. The committee formulated financial policies for the church. It exercised general control of the financial operations of the church and advised the executive on all financial matters. In April 1952, the church's financial situation was very precarious. There were no savings or bank account in the name of the church. ⁸⁵ This situation was largely due to the fact that most of the people who joined the church were from ranks of the "poorest of the poor", compounded by the poor economic situation in the country due to the post-war recession and fall in the prices of the primary commodities in the country. ⁸⁶

As at January 1948, tithes and offerings were the two main sources of income. "Annual Harvests" and "New Year Thanks Giving" offerings as a means of financial support for the church were later additions which Pastor S.A. Mensah introduced into the system from the Nigerian CAC.

Because of the precarious financial position of the church, pastors and workers allowances/salaries were not guaranteed. Though from time to time new salary scales were drawn up, their payment was not always possible. For some time pay for

⁸³The Minutes of the Special Meeting of Pastors, Workers and Elders, 23rd - 25th September, 1952.

⁸⁴Emergency Executive Council Meeting, 7-8 Sept. 1953.

⁸⁵General Executive Council Minutes, April 1952.

⁸⁶At one time it was proposed that an "Economic Development Committee" be established to explore ways and means of helping the church members improve upon their economic lot. This noble idea, however, did not materialise.

various categories of church workers was not standardised. Standardisation was called for by the Nsawam district in November 1948 but this was not done until a later time. Tithes, the major source of the church's income, were not centralised and for some time, each Assembly paid its workers from them and the balance was sent to the financial headquarters.⁸⁷ The General Executive Council in April 1952 decided to centralise the administration of the tithes of the Gold Coast churches and British Togoland (excluding Ashanti and its circuits). From this time, tithes from the churches, excluding those in the Ashanti and its circuits, were sent to the Missionary Headquarters, Akim Oda. All workers were then paid from the Missionary office. All other funds remained at the various assemblies. It was at this time that recommendations for proper books of accounts and the appointment of new competent officers to run the office were made. The church appointed Evangelist F. C. Holm-Fleischer, Accra, and J S Asante, Kumasi, as auditors in September 1952. They were to audit the books of the church twice a year, July and January.

The 'Financial Headquarters' was changed from time to time to ensure proper administration. These changes, however, did not always meet the approval of all. The financial headquarters was moved from Akim-Oda to Kumasi in October, 1952. From this date the treasuries of the CAC of the Gold Coast (Oda and Asamankese) were merged. So from 1st October 1952 the Treasury was located in Kumasi. With effect from this date all tithes were sent to the Circuit head. The Circuit pastor then paid his workers. Any balance was forwarded to the paymaster, Kumasi, together with his monthly financial report including information on salary arrears if any.⁸⁸

In 1953 Asamankese was made the 'Financial Headquarters' of the Church. As from 1st May, 1953 all Assemblies both in the Colony and Ashanti sent their tithes

⁸⁷This kind of arrangement seemed to have continued up to October, 1949. Somewhere between this time and 1950 the local churches no longer sent their surpluses to the head office. By an executive instrument, this was reversed on 1st of October, 1950. As from this date each Assembly was to send its surplus tithes after payment of the workers, to the then Financial Headquarters, Akim Oda.

⁸⁸It was required that all remittances of tithes surpluses be made not later than 10th of each month. From the same date, Pastor Brifo of Kumasi and Brother Anaman of Bibiani were put in charge of the treasury at Kumasi as Paymaster and Financial Secretary respectively.

to the new financial centre addressed to the General Treasurer. Workers/Pastors pay was arranged from here. From May, 1953 tithes on the pay of all Pastors and Workers were deducted at source. This practice was annulled in April 1950 by the Missionary Council because "it is believed that all Workers will be faithful in so doing"⁸⁹

In 1953 tithes were used solely for the payment of the pastors/ workers and rents of quarters and chapels. Sunday collections, 'thanks offerings', 'poor offerings', 'missionary offerings' were kept locally for use in the Assemblies.

Anim, from an early period saw the need to instil financial accountability into the system:

In every Assembly, a special Cash Book shall be opened for "Local Fund". The Local Fund of every Assembly shall remain there. But as some stations spend this fund unnecessarily or frivolously, all Local Funds in all Assemblies are controlled by the General Treasurer. Special Returns on local Fund shall be rendered at the close of each month and sent to the General Treasurer, Headquarters, Asamankese. Local Fund shall be used only for hospitality, visitors' support, district transport expenses, lights, kerosene oil, repairs of living quarters of the Church, chapel etc.⁹⁰

At another meeting Anim reiterated that:

The local financial secretaries must keep clean accounts. They should be keenly concerned to query the General Treasurer at any time that they see discrepancies arising in the accounts".⁹¹

The General Treasurer was to issue receipts to all pastors and workers on their monthly tithes paid as from the month of July, 1953. A special book was provided for that purpose, and it was required that tithes paid should be entered therein against the names of the contributors.⁹² The Missionary Fund was in the

⁸⁹Missionary Council Minutes, April 1952 (Personal collections). The church later reverted to the former system to ensure accountability.

⁹⁰Emergency Executive Council Meeting, September, 1953. Private collections.

⁹¹Minutes of the Asamankese Area, November, 1953.

⁹²The accumulated amount was termed "Pastors and Workers Pension Fund". The accrued amount could be withdrawn by the contributor on his/her retirement, pension, retrenchment, sickness or by his/her successor in case of death. In case of dismissal

system for some time. By August 1950 it had ceased to be operational. The fund was reactivated on 1st October, 1950. After this date, on the last Sunday of each month in the morning service, each Assembly held a special offering termed 'Missionary Offering' and the proceeds were sent to the General Headquarters. The fund was to meet costs such as transport expenses of headquarters workers; evangelists in new fields who are not supported by any assembly; and also building offices, workers quarters and training centres. All monies received were required to be sent to the paymaster, Kumasi.⁹³

By 1964 the offering was taken in the morning of the first Sunday of every month, and its purpose was for the propagation of the gospel. The other arrangements made to generate funds for the church were the creation of the "Local Fund",⁹⁴ "Annual Thanksgiving Offering",⁹⁵ "Church Building Fund".⁹⁶

Other Movements within the CAC

For evangelistic purposes, Anim's movement created other ministries within the organisation. The Youth Congress and Women's Band and Revival Band.

of a pastor/worker from office, s/he would forfeit his/her entitlements. Because of the financial instability which characterised the church, nothing concrete came out of this arrangement. In fact when Anim himself was retired in 1958, he went home with virtually nothing.

⁹³General Executive Council Minutes, September 1950. Private collections.

⁹⁴By 1964 the Local Fund had come to designate all collections taken during Sundays and weekdays. This fund was meant for the various running expenses of the local church.

⁹⁵Special envelopes were issued to members and well wishers for this purpose. A day was set aside for this special offering. Two thirds of the net proceeds was sent to the headquarters whilst the remaining was retained by the local assembly.

⁹⁶This fund covers the contributions made by the church members toward the building of a chapel or a mission house.

The Youth Congress

In April, 1950 the Missionary Council approved the inauguration of the Youth Congress.⁹⁷ Brother D. K. Saforo was the first General President of the Council. He was nominated a member of the Executive Council in Sept. 1953, as a representative of the Youth Congress.⁹⁸ Though the congress was established for evangelistic purposes nothing much was achieved by it, probably because of lack of structure and organisational goals. By the 1970s it was mainly known for its singing and prayer meeting.

Women's Fellowship

There was no WF as at September 1953. A senior deaconess was later appointed whose responsibilities included a periodic visit to the assemblies to teach, lecture and revive the women. The women's fellowship organised evangelistic campaigns and anniversaries as these became necessary.⁹⁹ This body appears to have been well organised, and more dynamic than the youth group.

Revival Band

The Revival Band was founded at Bibiani in the year 1953 by some members of the Church. The membership of the executive included some of the staunch members of the CAC. The Band was meant to be a non-denominational and non-sectarian movement

Aimed at joining all the Churches to be one in spirit, according to the Lord's valedictory prayer (John 17:21). ... That all members of the Band might unite in fervent prayers in demanding from God a Genuine revival power till it was poured from Heaven into all Churches, that the Children of God might prove the Supremacy of their Lord to the

⁹⁷Officers were installed during the January 1951 annual convention, Kumasi.

⁹⁸Later he became an Apostle and the chairman of the Finance Board, a position he held until he seceded.

⁹⁹The Emergency GEC meeting of Sept. 1953.

Heathen World.¹⁰⁰

The General President and Chairman was D K Brifo, and the General Organising Secretary was Nikoi. As at 1956 the Band had 26 chapters.¹⁰¹

The Worship of the Church

The nature of worship in the years preceding 1926 is not clear. Probably Anim might have taught his followers some songs from **"Gospel Message"** and **"Songs of Praise and Power"**.¹⁰²

The church had an able musician, Mr Timothy Albertson Aidoo" from the early days of the organisation. He translated the 'Gospel Message' and 'Songs of Praise and Power' from English into Twi. By 1926 the Twi translations were already in circulation within the church.¹⁰³ Mr Aidoo who became the General Musician of the church, was not in the employ of the church until 1948 when he finally decided to join the ranks of the church.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰Minutes of the Executive Meeting of the Revival Band, August 1956. Brifo's session in 1959 effectively brought the **Revival Band** to an end as Brifo used it as a spring board to form his erstwhile **Revival Church**.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²We have not been able to trace the origins of these song books.

¹⁰³One thousand copies of the hymn books were printed for the church in 1926 by the German publisher: Albert C. Boysen, Hamburg.

¹⁰⁴Executive Council Meetings January, 1948. Private collections. This means that whatever he did for the church up till this time was on voluntary basis. His letter offering himself as a worker with the CAC was read at the January 1948 executive council meeting which took place at Nsawam, E. R. We read the following from the minutes:

Letter from Mr Timothy Albertson- Singing Master of the C.A.C. offering himself wholeheartedly as a worker was read. The Secretary (M.H.Q.) in the name of the Church warmly thanked him for the motive which prompted him to make this offer. The Council in appreciation, accepted Mr. Aidoo's offer and asked that he should settle down at a convenient place and commence the important work on the revision of the present Hymn Book with a view to a second and improved Edition being printed. The work when completed will undoubtedly supply a long-felt need of this growing Church.

During the GEC meeting of September, 1950, it was confirmed that the revision work on the second edition was complete and that it had been sent to Germany for printing.¹⁰⁵ To meet the printing cost members were to contribute a minimum of £1. An order was placed with Messrs C. Boysen, 1st June 1951 for 5000 copies at a total cost of £1350. By November 1952 £500 had been raised and sent to the Printers. The whole transaction was completed in 1953. This project was entirely financed through contributions from the members of the church.

It is not clear how often the church used this hymnary after local choruses had emerged within the movement.¹⁰⁶ It is however clear that at a certain point in time the executive's attention was drawn to the fact that members were not making regular use of the hymns.¹⁰⁷

It took some time before the order of services within the church was systematised, for we are told that:

The Order of Service differed completely in some Assemblies Our Ministers experienced difficulties in wedding ceremonies and burial procedures for our dead members where many people from all Religious Sectors assemble to see the performances of the Church in the Public worship. Baptism of our new converts, Lords Supper Administration and Dedication of our Infants differed at certain stations thus making things very awkward. It was generally impossible for our Ministers in the Church to get things done Orderly and Systematically, in all our Assemblies.¹⁰⁸

The need for uniformity was stressed by the Missionary Council as early as 1950.¹⁰⁹ The church produced its first workers' manual in 1962. It is not clear what

¹⁰⁵It is not clear why a German printer was chosen. Anim's past association with the Basel Mission may have made this arrangement possible.

¹⁰⁶The tradition of "local choruses" developed within the movement at an early period.

¹⁰⁷The choruses are almost exclusively in local languages, they are simple, seasoned with local symbols and lyrics. These may be the main factors that jettisoned the hymn books.

¹⁰⁸The preface to the 1974 revised edition of the *Workers Manual*.

¹⁰⁹ The following officers were appointed by the M C to prepare the framework and present it to the next GEC: Pastor Anim, Pastor Mensah S. and the General Secretary. By september 1953, a suggested order of service had been circulated to the assemblies by the General Secretary. The order of service published in 1974

this looked like. Whatever was available at this time seems to have been only in the Twi and Ga languages. A more comprehensive one was compiled by Pastor M. R. Asamoah and others in 1967.¹¹⁰

Educational Programmes of CAC

At the beginning of the development of the organisation the intention to set up schools was not to enhance the educational development of the nation as such. Its main aim was to raise responsible leadership who would be able to continue to carry on the evangelistic mission of CAC, as the following suggests:

I am instructed by the General Superintendent to inform you that whilst you are indifferent in contributing to this fund, he is pointing out to you that on our Schools lie the future progress and expansion of our Church. It is evident that our sons and daughters who have come out of Senior Schools, Secondary Schools and Colleges, look [meanly] on our Church. It looks strange to them - the answer is known to all.¹¹¹

For the future proper functioning, expansion and advancement of the Church, we have recently held a meeting and we visualise that the proper training of our future generations and especially our school children educationally, morally, and spiritually; without which we could never achieve nobler and prosperous ends, as other churches.¹¹²

In 1924 the church opened its first primary school at Asamankese. The first teacher was Nathan Danso, who was won to the group through divine healing. This

Workers' Manual is essentially the same as the one suggested in 1953, which means it was approved for the use of the assemblies.

¹¹⁰Pastor Mintah, the then General Secretary, translated the vernacular edition into English. A group of pastors reviewed this in 1974. The manual, among other details, has information on the following: weekly services, wake-keeping and burial services, baptismal service, teachings on the Holy Spirit, child naming and child dedication, matrimonial service, communion service, laying of foundation stone of church buildings.

¹¹¹A circular letter signed by Daniel Koranteng, the CAC General Secretary, dated 14th June 1949.

¹¹²A letter from some Elders of the Asamankese CAC, addressed to the CAC Executive Council, dated 27th June 1949. Private collections of author.

school was however closed down by the government in 1926 due to poor staffing. At a very early time the leaders felt that the success of the church would depend upon its ability to prepare the younger generation adequately. To this end, the need to establish primary and secondary schools was very high on the agenda. The Missionary Council approved the establishment of two CAC senior schools, one in the Ashanti Region and the other in the Gold Coast proper, as from 1st January 1951. They are to be called Central Christ Apostolic Church Senior School.¹¹³ The GEC reported in September 1950 that Asamankese had a fine site for the CAC Central School. To raise funds for this, an annual fee of £4 per male and £2 per female was levied. The executive (GEC) in September 1950 decided that each assembly should try and build its own primary school which would feed the proposed Central Senior Schools.

These good intentions could not materialise for two main reasons: The policies of the colonial government on education did not augur well for Anim's organisation. The closure of the first school in 1926 was due to Guggisberg's educational policies. Guggisberg's education ordinance of 1925 required higher qualifications of non-assisted schools and their staffs. The ordinance came into force in 1927 and it led to the untimely closure of several schools. This led to much criticism by the nationals and some missionaries.¹¹⁴ In later circumstances, it was individual decisions by the local administration which worked against the church.¹¹⁵ In another instance, the local administration felt that one of CAC's primary schools was in competition with

¹¹³The following became members of the first committee:

Pastor B T Mensah: President

J S Asante: Vice-President

Pastor P H Yeboah: Secretary

Pastor J M Ansah Diabene: Assistant Secretary

¹¹⁴F.M. Bourret 1960. *Ghana-The Road to Independence*. London: 1934; cf. chapter 1 of this thesis.

¹¹⁵In a particular instance, the District Commissioner, Wiawso, (Bibiani) refused to grant a land lease to the church because "The church is not an approved Mission" (District Commissioner's letter ref.no. 1172/s.74B./1944 dated 2nd September, 1948. Private collections)

the one run by the local authority, so approval was not given to it. In another case, the colonial authorities felt that there were enough vacancies in the existing schools to absorb the children of CAC members. The second reason why CAC's educational plans could not materialise was due to serious financial constraints. When the country attained independence in 1957, CAC managed to establish one approved school at Bantama, Kumasi. Part of the Bantama chapel housed the school.¹¹⁶

Summary and Conclusion

One major factor that impeded the growth of CAC was its position on the use of medicine. The organisation's position on the use of curative and preventive medicine has since been abandoned. This paradigm shift seems to have taken place around 1970s. The major factors that seem to have brought about this shift may be the following:

- a.) The influence of more educated people who joined the organisation;
- b.) The negative effect of the no medication stand on the growth of the movement;
- c.) The organisation's interaction with other pentecostal denominations in the country;
- d.) The leaders', particularly Anim's fresh understanding of Scripture.

In spite of this shift towards what appears to be a more balanced approach to Divine healing, it is believed Anim never applied any form of medication until the last days of his earthly pilgrimage, when he fell in his bath and sustained some injuries.

There were many dissenters in the organisation who felt the church's theology of Divine healing was a bondage. For example, at a major teaching service organised at Nsawam in 1954 the following critique was made against the no medication position:

Having left the Church (and entered into non-sectarianism), we have taken further steps and we have advanced spiritually. As such we are not to teach anywhere that if a man applies medicine in time of sickness he/she will not go to heaven. This is not true. We are not judges in this case, Rom.14 :1-1-4. This teaching drives away, but does not win souls. This has nothing to do with salvation. Salvation

¹¹⁶Later the Bantama church secured some plots of land from the State Housing Corporation, North Suntresu, near the government clinic and developed it for the use of the school. The school, renamed Bethel Preparatory School, was later transferred from the Bantama chapel to the North Suntresu site.

comes through Faith and Grace, through our lord Jesus Christ. But all saints are exhorted that any believer who trusts Jesus only in time of sickness, Poverty and Tribulation has reached the highest pinnacle. We should all aim at this. Such person would not only be saved, but he/she would be glorified when he/she gets to heaven. Now listen, if "A" goes to doctor in time of sickness and "B" also goes to a rich man in time of poverty to raise loan, both are weak in faith and have not entirely trust God. Rom. 13:8.¹¹⁷

This was one factor that caused several of Anim's members, including pastors, to transfer to McKeown's organisation.¹¹⁸ The organisation's association with foreign organisations was one other factor that affected its development. For example CAC's short lived association with UPC was purely on financial grounds, as the following evidence shows:

... He [Owusu Appiah] further said that he shared the grief with the President [Anim] because if members have been sincere and have been given to the Church, there would be no need for inviting the missionaries. ... He said past experience had frightened the President and so he justifies the apprehensions being entertained by him as he could not know what would be the outcome of the Fellowship.¹¹⁹

Since some of the leaders felt that only through such association would the organisation be able to secure the necessary finances to undertake its projects, the leadership appears to have failed to motivate their members to give. In 1953 when the will was there the organisation could raise substantial sums of money to finance the cost of new hymn books.

One other significant factor that impeded the development of the organisation was the 1979 secession. Prior to Saforo's secession, he had wielded much power and authority. He was able to do this mainly because of his level of education which was

¹¹⁷ Teachings given to the Gold Coast Christ Apostolic Church Assemblies at Nsawam, June 18 & 19 1954, p.5f. It is not clear who gave these teachings. The contents of the teachings surely indicate that it came from a radical reformer. See appendix for copy of these teachings.

¹¹⁸ History of the Church of Pentecost 2nd ed., n.d., 10.

¹¹⁹ Minutes, Executive Council Meeting, 16th June, 1967. Personal collection. (These were the sentiments of B. K. Owusu Appiah, the first General Deacon of CAC).

relatively above the majority of the ministers.¹²⁰ Though the secession of Apostle Mika Asamoah in 1969 affected CAC numerically, it appears the impact of the secession of Saforo was devastating. It weakened the internal cohesiveness of the movement as a lot of the business of the church had gravitated around him for a very long time. Related to this was the fact that for a long time the running of the organisation was in the hands of the older ministers who do not seem to have had the benefit of modern administrative controls.

The combined effect of the forgoing affected the development of the Anim's movement, as the following picture indicates:

On our assumption of office, there was a complete administrative and financial breakdown. The cash on hand was 1000 cedis¹²¹ and cash at the Central Bank to be used to run the Administration was 685.30 cedis, imagine that! Some ministers had not been paid for over 6 months, whilst over 35 retired pastors and widows had not been paid their benefits, some for over 18 years because there were no funds. Returns from many regions to Head Office showed deficits after their regional expenses. Ashanti Region which was the leading region could send about 300 cedis to Head Office after regional expenses. Thus total income to Head Office in 1986 was as low as 1.2 million cedis. Morale was generally low and development efforts at local assemblies were terribly in bad shape.¹²²

Though Anim advocated the introduction of a proper accounting system at a very early time of the organisation's development, the church does not seem to have been able to recruit qualified personnel to put together the relevant systems which would have aided the fiscal development of the church.¹²³ Neither did it make use of competent internal and external auditors. The 1987-89 auditors report revealed that:

Lack of staff at the Accounts Dept coupled with lack of information to

¹²⁰We indicated elsewhere that he was the chairman of the finance board for 20 years. Because of the power and authority he exerted, many people thought he was the General Secretary of the organisation.

¹²¹About £4 then.

¹²²General Secretary, the Rev Augustine Annor-Yebaoh, *CAC News Letter*, March 1990, 2. The exchange rate of the cedi to the pound was about 500 cedis to £1.

¹²³Anim strongly advocated for proper financial accountability, as far back as 1953 before Saforo's regime.

compile account statements made recordings quite difficult. It therefore took the team a longer time to accomplish the auditing assignment. Bank reconciliation statements were not in process, Fixed Assets Registers were also not maintained. This also posed some difficulty in revaluation of Headquarters fixed assets and necessary annual depreciation provisions. ... Meanwhile, we have drawn the attention of the General Administration to draw a financial plan (Budget) in the system to regulate the levels of income and rates of administrative and operational expenses.¹²⁴

Saforo was not a financial expert though he may have had the zeal and the desire to do the work. The General Treasurers and financial secretaries who preceded Saforo were not qualified accounting personnel. It appears the situation remained this way for a very long time.¹²⁵

Though some of the problems that have plagued CAC may be assigned to human failures, the present leadership has given a spiritual interpretation. The leadership believes that in every ten years, beginning from 1939, the church suffers from a major secession. This has been termed a "historical Ten-Year Secession Syndrome", or "a decade cycle of rebellions".¹²⁶ The leadership believes this problem is caused by Satan, using some human agents. This, it is thought, is done in order to prevent the church from effectively playing its role as the pioneer of pentecostalism in Africa. The position is officially put this way:

C.A.C. has experienced [six] major secession syndromes occurring every [ten] years¹²⁷ amidst several minor ones engineered by Satan

¹²⁴The auditors report, CAC Newsletter, October, 1990, 17.

¹²⁵Until recently most of the pentecostal had the practice of putting pastors in charge of areas where they had not had the requisite professional qualifications. The reason behind this practice appears to be the fact that it was thought because of their positions as ministers of God, they would be more responsible in terms of accountability.

¹²⁶CAC Newsletter, March 1990, 2, 20. It is not clear who originated this idea within the church. Though the previous leaders might have subscribed to such a view, its present articulation originates with the present leadership.

¹²⁷These are listed as:

J. McKeown 1939
Rev. Yeboah 1949
D.K. Brefo 1959

who has made this Church his target since 1939, for being the source of the Pentecostal flame that overthrew the supremacy of the devil in Africa. Surprisingly, out of the [six] major secessions that claimed thousands of souls, caused loss of wealth, and loss of many branch churches, and also wrecked the foundation and growth rate of this Church, [four] were spearheaded from Kumasi Bantama. These are Brefo, 1959, U.P.C. 1969, Saforo, 1979, and Amanfu's Christ Action Church in 1989. It is proved beyond all doubt that rebellion is among the surest strategies the devil employs to break down the protective walls of God's Church to let in his deadly agents of confusion, apathy, and destruction.¹²⁸

The executive, no doubt, had to face challenging situations in their attempt to perfect the ministry of salvation which Anim began. This challenge, however, as we have indicated, is perceived from the context of the struggle between the agents of God and the agents of the devil.

Since the problem is perceived as a battle fought in the realm of the spirit, the church believes the battle could primarily be won from the same realm. The executive has therefore engaged "a band of prayer warriors, praying daily to back the Administration".¹²⁹ With these praying prophets backing the executive on daily basis, coupled with "education, prayer, watchfulness and willingness to resist any future secessions, the Church's leadership believes peace and tranquillity can now prevail within the organisation.

M.K. Asamoah 1969
D.K. Saforo 1979
J.D. Amanfu 1989

¹²⁸CAC Newsletter, March 1990, 3.

¹²⁹Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE LIFE AND FAITH OF THE CHRIST APOSTOLIC CHURCH

Introduction

This is essentially a liberation movement through which the Holy Spirit sets free many people held in bondage by Satan. The healings, exorcisms and deliverance from sin which adorn the pages of the gospels and Acts are re-enacted in modern Ghana. I have myself witnessed blind, deaf, and paralytics healed and the dying resuscitated. The movement derives its power and success from Christian spirituality, the exercise of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and from the development of an indigenous Church life-style using local language, music, liturgy, symbols and personnel. It emphasizes laity leadership in worship as well as mass evangelism, periodical congregational revival meetings, women's participation in the ministry, pastoral care, and solidarity with the poor. Although its teachings and preachings demonstrate concern with political matters, it believes more in secret intercessory prayer than matters political.¹

The above observation by Professor Anquandah about the Pentecostal movement in Ghana, is indeed akin to that of the Christ Apostolic Church.

When Anim said that though he "had intellectually believed the Bible before", but "had never had the truth presented in a more realistic way"², he was in fact looking for a religious experience that was practical and vital to his total well being. His experience of divine healing from chronic stomach ache and the attack of guinea worm in 1921, appears therefore to have buttressed his faith during this search for meaning.³ This experience raised his awareness of another dimension of Christianity he had not been exposed to throughout his Presbyterian upbringing. Anim's personal attestation of divine healing coupled with the evidence of miracles and mighty works attested in the New Testament, were therefore to determine the emphasis of the movement he was to establish.

¹Anquandah, 255.

²Anim, n.d. *The History of the Full Gospel Church*, Accra: CAC, 1.

³At this point in Anim's life, he was going through a very painful human tragedy, as a result of the deaths of his wife and daughters.

Power Evangelism

When Anim moved to Asamankese in 1922, his message was centred on God's power to save from sin and deliver from sickness.⁴ This message immediately attracted four converts, one of whom, we are told had a deadly disease.⁵ This incidence of divine healing drew several people to the infant movement. Anim recounts:

The good news of his recovery from this deadly sickness spread far and near and several sick persons were brought and all received healing through the Divine power. These people having realised the mighty power of God proclaimed it throughout the Regions. A marvellous revival took place among the people and several of them were converted to the Faith.⁶

This was the crucial event that established the credibility of Anim as a religious leader because

⁴It is not clear why Anim relocated to Asamankese. Two possible reasons may be suggested. It may be that he had some relatives living in this predominantly farming community. It is one of the fertile areas in the Eastern Region. It could also be that his new faith was in conflict with the leadership of the Presbyterian Church of which he was a member. It thus became uncomfortable for him to operate at Boso where the Basel Mission was strong. By 1923 the activities of the Faith Tabernacle congregation had begun to cause concern to the mission. For example the Synod Committee Minutes no.48, July 1923 record:

Our position in regard to Christians in connection with Faith Tabernacle Church:

We are to deal gently with them but if they refuse to support the Church, they [are] to be excluded.

We also read that one Rev G. Agyakwa reported that at a place called Kwadwo Wusu, some members of the Presbyterian Church who had joined the Faith Tabernacle, and "allowed themselves to be baptised are to be sent away from the land" (Synod Committee Meeting, Minutes no 18 of July 1924).

Minutes 22 of the same meeting records that: "Since this body is not recognised as a mission they are to leave our land".

⁵Alex Amoah, Timothy Obese, Kofi Akyeampong, and Timothy Adu, and Daniel Osei were his first four converts. Daniel Osei who had a "deadly disease", became the first person to experience divine healing through Anim's group.

⁶Anim, 2.

In Africa, medicine has always been practised by traditional-healers. Healing, exorcism, divination, diagnosis and restoration to wholeness of ill or disturbed persons are seen as crucial functions of the priest. To the traditional African the most important activity of a priest is the medical one--the ability to diagnose correctly and to prescribe accurate remedies for various diseases. To separate this function from his other priestly activities, or to disclaim the authenticity of this as a valid service of a religious person, is to seriously detract from a priest's acceptability and recognition with a traditional African. This appears to be what happened with the western mission-founded churches.⁷

For the people of Asamankese and the surrounding towns, Anim was indeed a prophet and a healer, a bringer of good tidings of hope, deliverance and healing. It appears it was primarily the reported miracles that attracted people to Anim's movement.⁸

THE BELIEFS OF CAC

Anim and his organisation's break from the traditional means of supernatural succour was total and complete. He did not have the benefit of written down doctrines imported from other latitudes. As the organisation struggled to come to terms with the relevance of the Christian faith to both temporal and spiritual needs, new doctrines emerged. From time to time, Anim and his leaders had to change their position on certain doctrinal issues as more light became available. Though Anim was the principal formulator of the doctrines of the emerging church, he never did anything without the approval of the executive.

As the movement relied heavily on revelations, a mechanism was created for bringing into the attention of the leadership all such revelations including prophecies and dreams. The position was that when any prophecy, revelation or dream was received by an Assembly which was

⁷E.Y. Lartey 1986. Healing: Tradition and Pentecostalism in Africa Today. *IRM* LXXV 297, 75.

⁸Those attracted included some devotees of the teachings of the Faith Tabernacle, who were living in other parts of the country. One J. A. Armah who at that time had his home at Nsawam, went to Asamankese to see Anim's work. Armah is said to have been highly impressed with the work and so decided to team up with Anim. (Anim, n.d. *Full Gospel Church*, 2).

Contrary or affects our doctrine or principles, such assembly if they believe it or not, should first communicate to the Headquarters, so that such prophecy or revelation may be studied by any meeting representing the whole church before its application. 1 Thes. 5: 19-21.

Anim's competence was held in high esteem by the leadership. They therefore relied on him almost exclusively in all doctrinal matters. In 1953 the leadership of the church resolved that "Questions dealing with doctrinal matters should not be sent to meetings for argument, but be addressed to the General Superintendent direct, who would deal with same".⁹

By 1964 the organisation had come up with certain well defined doctrinal formulations. In the realm of belief, the organisation stressed two aspects of the totality of Christian belief: *pneumatological*, and the *soteriological*.

Pneumatological

The Church taught that: THE HOLY SPIRIT is the Third Person of the Trinity, sent from the Father to "guide us into all truth", "convict the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgement to come" "to comfort, lead and teach the believers in Jesus Christ.... to anoint, inspire and empower believers to continue the work Jesus began both to do and teach".¹⁰ He is the "PROMISE OF THE FATHER"--all believers in Jesus Christ are entitled to receive, and should earnestly seek the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire according to the command of our Lord. This is the normal experience of the early church. With this experience comes the power to preach and the bestowment of the GIFTS OF THE SPIRIT. When the believer is filled with the Holy Spirit, there is a physical sign of "speaking in other tongues as the Spirit of God gives the utterance". *This is accompanied and followed by a burning desire and supernatural power to witness to others of God's salvation and power.*¹¹

The Holy Spirit mediates the charismata of the Godhead. God in his mercy

⁹Minutes of the GEC meeting of April 1953. Private collections.

¹⁰Constitution 1964, 10. The 1964 constitution is the best source of information on aspects of the life of the church since this is the first constitution of the church. The later ones (1972 and 1989) have omitted some valuable information relating to the early life of the organisation.

¹¹Constitution 1964, 10.

calls prophets, seers, and other ministers and fills them with His Spirit. Through these consecrated men and women, He reveals His will and the destiny of the individual, and the entire organisation. He guides through dangers, and protects from harm, fills men with new powers of prophecy, utterance, prayer and healing. Though God, by His grace, has bestowed His charismata in a special degree on his chosen servants, believers share in this grace gifts both through the ministry of God's leaders, and also by the believers own experience of the Spirit, through prayer, fasting, eschewing all forms of immorality.

Soteriological

Anim's groups's attitude to the traditional sources of supernatural succour, the spirits: ancestral cult, divinities, the medicine-man with his magical powers and techniques, is that of hostility and non-compromise. To them any contact with these traditional sources of supernatural succour will meet with God's anger and judgement. The organisation pursues salvation from two main fronts: **this-worldly** and **other-worldly**.

This-worldly fashion of salvation

For Anim, the good news of our Lord Jesus Christ is a total package. It means healing for the whole person: body, soul, and spirit. None could be excluded from the scheme of salvation without rendering the gospel deficient. Prophets, seers, healers, and other church workers who were trained to take the responsibility of helping people experience **this-worldly** aspects of salvation, were God's appointed medium in whom the Spirit of God dwells.

On physical healing, Anim's movement taught that "Deliverance from all manner of sickness is provided for us in the atonement of [Jesus] -- and is the privilege of every believer."¹² Both preventive and curative medicines were therefore

¹²Ibid., 13. Though the organisation's position on divine healing is based on biblical texts like Isa. 53:4-6; Matt. 8:16,17; James 4:14-17; Mark 16:14-18, the classic text for non use of medicine is 2 Chron. 16:12.

disallowed,¹³ for to take any form of medicine would be like King Asa (2 Chron. 16:12), and it would meet God's punishment just as He did to Asa. In a personal memoir under "*Our attitude [in] regard to Doctors and medicines*", Anim writes:

Healing was purchased for us by Christ at the price of his suffering, so the healing is operated by the Spirit of God alone. Therefore our trust is in Christ alone and his redemptive work and the work of the Spirit. All other foundations are flesh, so it grieves the Lord Jerem. 17:5-11; 2 Chronicles 16:12. We will be under condemnation as Asa if we seek doctors and medicines for healing 1 Pet. 1:18. God has taken sickness and its healing out of the natural realm, and has made it a matter of spiritual conflict and salvation Galatians 5:17. Jerem. 17:5.

2 Tim. 4:20 Trophimos [was] sick at Malta [and] Paul left him there. Philip. 2:25-30 Epaphroditus was sick nigh unto death but God delivered him.¹⁴

Anim's counterparts in Nigeria espoused similar views on healing:

We as a Church do not teach that doctors and medicines are wicked and evil in themselves; but we do teach that the use of medicine is the world's way of obtaining healing, it is the way of unbelievers and it is diametrically opposed to God's, which is healing by supernatural divine power. The institution is therefore unscriptural. Throughout the Bible, God declares Himself as the Healer of His people. He is the physician to whom all His people should go for healing.¹⁵

For Anim, because "healing is provided for the church" it is not the amount

¹³Recourse to any form of medical help was regarded as disobedience to God and therefore warranted excommunication. A letter from the General Secretary in October 1948 reported that one J. O. Lartey was excommunicated on the grounds that he depended "on the usage of drugs in his present affliction".

¹⁴Personal memoir of Anim, taken from a Bible presented to Anim by the father of James McKeown in 1937 when McKeown was going to the then Gold Coast as a missionary. (After the death of Anim, Moses Appiah Anim, Anim's only surviving child, presented it to Apostle Afful, the President of the Apostolic Reformed Church, on May 1 1984 as a gift. Anim stayed in Afful's house for some time before his death).

¹⁵Adegboyega 1978. *Short History of the Apostolic Church in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Rosprint Ind. Press, 102f. It appears Anim's group did not oppose any of their members working in the medical profession since Anim's first General Deacon, Owusu Appiah, worked as a qualified nurse for several years until his retirement.

of faith one has that matters. He taught that "Your faith is only an instrument, Christ is the agent. It is not the strength or weakness of your faith, but Christ that saves, [and] heals".¹⁶

In spite of the movement's strong emphasis on divine healing, it appears to place a greater emphasis on salvation from guilt and power of sin and upon Christ's atonement. The "salvation of the soul" is regarded as more important than "physical healing" as the following depicts:

Should any unsaved persons desire to be anointed (Mark 6:13), opportunity should be taken first of all to speak to them regarding their eternal welfare, *as this is considered of greater importance*. Earnestly and simply they should be spoken to, so that purity as to his conviction of sins for confession, may possess their souls, and that the call for physical healing may deepen to a cry for salvation of their souls.¹⁷

Man in his pre-fall state is seen as: pure, holy and free from sin". God "gave man the free choice of life or death, obedience or disobedience of God's eternal commands and will".¹⁸ On the fall, it states "Through the fall of Adam and Eve, all children of men are born with sinful natures, and the wages of sin is death--they will be lost throughout eternity if not redeemed from their sins by the grace of God, through Jesus Christ"¹⁹. On redemption it states:

In the fullness of time, God sent His only begotten Son, Jesus Christ into the world to pay the penalty for our sins, and redeem us from the power of satan, sin, sickness, death and hell... all of which are the result of Adams's sin and the fall (Matt. 1:21; Luke 1:35).

Man can be saved if he takes the Gospel, believes the provision Christ has made for his salvation, accepts Jesus Christ as the Son of God, to wash away all his sins, and is ready to follow the teachings of Jesus Christ (Romans 10:9-17; Mark 16:15-18).²⁰

For salvation to be effectual there is the need for "genuine repentance". "This

¹⁶Personal memoir of Anim, contained in the Bible referred to above. In the writings of Anim, he uses the term "save" and "salvation" to specifically denote "soul salvation".

¹⁷Constitution 1966, 26. Emphasis are mine.

¹⁸Constitution 1964, 10.

¹⁹Ibid., 10f.

²⁰Ibid., 11.

is a genuine sorrow for sins committed and complete decision of turning FROM all forms of known sin ..., and from all the appearance of sin". It speaks of repentance being accompanied by confession of personal sins to God. It also mentions the fact that confession may be made to man for intercession to God, in times of Baptism, Holy Communion, sickness or affliction.²¹ It speaks of salvation being a free gift from God which:

We could not earn it by any merits or good works we have done... good works cannot cover sins of the past... it takes GOD to wash away a man's sins and change his sinful nature to one that loves and follows holiness.²²

On evidence of salvation, the position is that,

The inward evidence to the believer of his salvation is the direct witness of the SPIRIT of God to one's own spirit (Rom. 8:16). The outward evidence to all men is a life of righteousness and true holiness (Matt. 5:16).²³

Several crusades and evangelistic campaigns are conducted throughout the year to present God's message of redemption from sin, and hope for the unsaved. In one of the organisation's news letters which also contained its monthly teachings, we have the following:

Millions of souls are perishing. Profligacy, degeneration and moral decay grip the world of men. Sermons should ring out like [a] fire alarm to waken people out of their lethargy. Like the sirens that send the people scurrying for bomb-shelters, every sermon should send people seeking for the Ark of safety -which is Christ, our Lord. Sermons that do not alarm the sinner are dead.²⁴

Though in the preaching of the gospel, premium is placed on the "salvation of souls", **power evangelism** is what is considered as the New Testament pattern of evangelism.²⁵ In one of the evangelistic activities of the organisation we read thus:

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

²⁴CAC Monthly Teachings and News Letter: No. 4/56: 25/8/56.

²⁵Evangelism that goes with signs and wonders.

The Lord moved mightily and worked miracles. Many sicknesses were instantaneously healed under the canopy including blindness, dumbness, leprosy, lameness and many other diseases too numerous to mention. ... Many souls were won for Christ. ... MAY THE LORD'S NAME BE PRAISED.²⁶

Anim's doctrine of the Spirit and doctrine of salvation cannot be divorced from his view of Scripture. Many of the leaders we interviewed indicated that in almost all matters, Anim would ask in Twi: "*Kyerew no se den?*" meaning, "*What does the Scripture Say?*"²⁷ We select Anim's view of the Bible and other doctrines of CAC for mentioning.

THE BIBLE

The Bible is our all-sufficient rule for faith and practice. It is the inspired Word of God, a revelation from GOD to man, the INFALLIBLE guide of conduct and faith, the BIBLE is SUPERIOR to conscience and reason, but not contrary to wisdom (2 Tim. 3:15, 16; 1 Pet. 1: 21). THE BIBLE - both OLD and NEW TESTAMENTS is the pure Word of God that cannot be changed, added to, nor taken away from its words, without terrific consequences.²⁸

Though Bible schools are not despised, it is held that through the agency of the Holy Spirit every one can understand the Bible. The Bible is interpreted literally. A classic example here is Anim's interpretation of 2 Chr. 16:12, his programmatic text on the non-use of medicine:

... Asa was afflicted with a disease in his feet. Though his disease was severe, even in his illness he did not seek help from the Lord but only from the physicians.

GOD

The organisation originally espoused to the traditional historic Trinitarian conception of God:

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Interview with H.K. Amponsah, 30.9.93; S.K. Asare, 2.9.93, and many others.

²⁸1964 Constitution, 9.

God is **ONE** eternal, omni-present, omniscient, all-powerful God in three persons; namely, the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST. God created the whole universe out of nothing in the beginning (Gen. 1:1).²⁹

The organisation's traditional view of the Godhead was later undermined by the United Pentecostal Church's conception of the Oneness of God. Though this position was condemned by CAC Ghana and Nigeria in 1969, its effect on the theological thinking of Anim's group was to remain for some time as the 1972 constitution seems to suggest:

GOD is ONE eternal omnipresent, all-powerful, *manifesting Himself*, the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST.³⁰

The organisation has since dropped this modalist view of the Trinity.³¹ Though Anim, like other pentecostals sees the different persons in the Godhead as distinct and separate, in some songs Jesus seems to play the dual role of the Father and the Son.³²

JESUS CHRIST

JESUS CHRIST, the Son of the Living God, came in the flesh, born of the virgin Mary, begotten by the Holy Spirit, and took on Himself the form of man to be able to redeem us from our sins, and deliver us from the powers of Satan (Matt. 1:18-21; Luk. 1:31; John 1:2-14).³³

Anim places his organisation firmly at the centre of historic Christianity when the organisation affirms that:

For the salvation of man from sin, Jesus Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried and rose triumphantly the third day from the dead, ascended into heaven from Mount Olivet in the presence of many witnesses, and today is sitting on the right hand of the Throne of God interceding for us, from whence He shall come again to raise the dead and judge the world. There is an eternal

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Constitution 1972, 10. Italics are mine.

³¹See 1989 Constitution, 6.

³²Examples of this will be given in chapter 6.

³³Ibid.

punishment for the wicked, and eternal bliss for the righteous.³⁴

In the matter of holiness, i.e., **Sanctification**, the organisation states that

Sanctification

Is purification of the nature from sin and filthiness of the flesh. This starts at the moment we are saved and should be a daily experience of "washing by the WORD"---complete dedication daily to God's will. MAN CAN LIVE ABOVE SIN because our sinful natures have been changed by the "new birth" (John 3:7) and Christ lives in our hearts! (1 Pet. 1:15,16; Matt. 5:48; 2 Cor. 7:7; 1 John 3:9).³⁵

Sanctification therefore, according to the teachings of Anim, is not only a condition or state of being, but also a purposeful action, a position one grows into. Though Anim's movement does not teach the possibility of entire sanctification in this life when sin "ceases to be" part of man's experience, it affirms that it has a real beginning, the point when he experiences the new birth. It also sees the work of sanctifying grace as progressive, a process in which man on daily basis grows into this experience of holiness, striving towards the goal of the Christian life: the *summum bonum* of Christian experience, where complete holiness will be achieved at the consummation, where the power and the very presence of sin will be removed.

This organisation's notion of the believer's life of wholeness in the eschaton, is strongly linked up with the eschatological beliefs of the organisation. Mrs Dorothy Koley's "Testimony" on the near-death experience she had recently, summarizes the organisation's perspective on the *parousia*. For them **heaven** is a literal place, the beauty of which is beyond human description. It is the abode of God, the place of the righteous dead, and other celestial beings. From this heaven Jesus is surely coming back again to the realm of humanity. He is coming to judge the living and the dead. It is therefore imperative that every one, especially the saints, get prepared for His imminent Coming.³⁶

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵ibid., 9.

³⁶Mrs Dorothy Korley, 1987. Audio cassette, "Living testimony". Accra North: Ghana. Personal collections of author. The message on this cassette represents the eschatological views of the mainline pentecostal churches. These beliefs are also

THE ETHOS OF CAC

Looking at the *prophet-healing* churches, Turner observes that:

The ethos of these churches has much in common with that of some of the holiness and pentecostal groups of the West, with a morality often legalist and rigorist, stressing the necessity of tithing, fasting, sabbath-keeping, observing hours of prayer, avoiding alcohol and tobacco. Some of this derives from a biblical literalism, and some from traditional codes of morality. There is also an emphasis upon fellowship within the community, showing kindness and avoiding malice, and giving the church a good name before the world, even when the world persecutes the Christian he must be ready to endure through the grace of his master who suffered before him.³⁷

Much of Turner's observation may be said of Anim's organisation and the classic pentecostal churches. The evangelical pentecostal code of conduct is based on what the movement regards as **obedience to Scripture** rather than anything else. The codes of morality prevalent in traditional societies may have largely contributed in forming the personality of believers. Though there is no evidence that the codes of morality as practised by Anim's organisation are derived from the traditional codes of conduct, it may be stated however, that it appears the individual who has come from the background where traditional codes of morality looms large, will find it easier to belong to a church where rigorist codes of conduct prevails.

The necessity of tithing, fasting, prayer, and abstinence from alcohol and tobacco, and the need to keep the sanctity of "Lord's Day" and other practices were stressed by Anim's group at different degrees of intensity during the early part of Anim's movement. By 1972, most of what seems the "rigorist" attitude had given way to a more flexible position, and by 1989 most of them were no more stressed.

Services and Convocations

There were several services and convocations that brought the believers together for joyous celebrations. Sundays, referred to as "**The Lord's Day**", are paramount.

strongly reflected in the songs which originate with the Christ Apostolic Church, the Apostolic Church, and the Church of Pentecost.

³⁷Turner 1968, 26.

It is expected of all that the Day be kept holy.

It should be set apart completely for Him. We do not feel that it is pleasing to the Lord to do anything on this day which could be avoided. It should be a day of spiritual refreshment and be spent for Him in His service. It must be revered by all. No business of any kind should be opened or transacted. All unnecessary travelling should be avoided. Only that which is necessary for the Lord's work and our attendance in the sanctuary, can justify our using the usual travelling facilities on that day.³⁸

Two services were held every Sunday: morning and evening. The evening services were entirely devoted to the salvation of souls.

The meeting on the evening of the first day of the week should be definitely a Gospel service. The clarion note of the Gospel message should be rung out in no uncertain tone. Greater opportunity is found at this meeting to present the Gospel to the unsaved than at any other indoor meeting. There should be concentrated effort to have every aspect of the service on Gospel lines. In addition to the ministry, the Hymns, the solos etc, should all add to the character of the meeting. The meeting should be distinguished as evangelistic in tone, soul saving in its power and inspiring in its nature.³⁹

It is believed that the very presence of God is there among His people in all these meetings and as such it was required that proper conduct is observed at all times.

The Sacredness of the Sanctuary should be constantly borne witness to, by the example of reverence and devotion shown by all at all times, whether before, during or after meetings. Officers should realise the importance of teaching the saints on this matter, and should themselves refrain from all unnecessary whispering and conversation before and during the services. All unnecessary talk should be eliminated from the platform as well as from the congregation.⁴⁰

To unleash the power and the blessings of God upon his people,

Great tact, wisdom and grace are necessary in the conduct of meetings. Every meeting is unlimited in its possibilities. The leader should be

³⁸Constitution 1964, 23. By 1989 the position on this has been modified.

³⁹Ibid., 23. The time for the services was 7pm-9pm.

⁴⁰Ibid., 22.

above everything else, be in touch with God. His aim should be that every meeting is liberated from any element and power that is detrimental to the liberty of the Holy Spirit. The goal of every meeting should be to make Christ pre-eminent. The liberating, illuminating and inspiring ministry of the Holy Spirit should be in evidence, that God may be glorified.⁴¹

Evangelistic Campaigns

There were preaching engagements held in towns and villages at the local assemblies as a means of introducing the church to the community. In addition to the neighbourhood preaching, rallies were also held in towns and villages from time to time in order to carry the gospel to the unsaved.

General Conventions and Regional/Area Convention

We learn of major conventions of this church as early as 1948. A local news paper, carried an article in which it was reported that:

The Christ Apostolic Church of the Gold Coast held her 1947 to 1948 annual convention at Nsawam from 5th to 12th January, 1948. Since 25 years when the church was established in the Gold Coast, this convention is said to have been the most interesting and impressive. The number of members who attended was very large beyond expectation; as all roads meet at Nsawam representatives arrived from all parts of the Gold Coast. During all their meetings, their charming songs and testimonies of material and spiritual benefits gained, drew hearers and kept them spell-bound until the meeting was over.⁴²

It appears that the time for the celebration of the annual conventions oscillated around January and Easter period. The 1947/48 Convention took place in January.⁴³

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²The Star of West Africa vol. 111 no. 9 of 14th Feb. 1948.

⁴³The Missionary Council Meeting of April 1950 reports that: The celebration of our Annual Convention has been given trial during Easter, but now the M.C. rules that in future our Annual Convention shall be held in Kumasi, during January. During a special meeting of pastors, workers and elders of the church which took place in September, 1952, it was unanimously agreed that the holding of Annual General Conventions be held on Good Fridays and District Revival Convention on Christmas days. The first convention after this meeting took place at Manpong-Akwapim, from the 2nd to the 6th of April, 1953.

These Annual Conventions were one of the major events in the movement. Major decisions were taken by the executive during this time. Regional/Area conventions were held during Christmas holidays under the chairmanship of the regional or Area Apostle. The purpose of the conventions was:

- a. the spiritual enrichment of the believers;
- b. for Fellowship;
- c. the spreading of the gospel.

Because of great importance attached to the conventions adequate preparations before and after the conventions were required.⁴⁴

Holy Ghost Day

In commemoration of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Asamankese, the organisation earmarked September of every year to celebrate it. The first day of its kind was celebrated on the 12th of September, 1964 "in fasting, prayer and singing of praises to the Almighty" at Asamankese.⁴⁵ On this subject, the 1972 constitution has the following provisions:

... In commemoration of the Holy Ghost Dispensation in Ghana (the then Gold Coast). The venue for this will be determined by the Executive Council from time to time.⁴⁶

The Feast of Tabernacles

This biblical feast seems to have been celebrated by Anim's group, at least once. It seems great significance was attached to it.

The above feast will start at Sundown on September 19th, 1956 and end on Sundown 27th instant at Winneba. This meeting is a complete

⁴⁴The workers meeting held in Sept. 1952 agreed that "... before any scheduled annual convention takes place, at least two evangelists should be sent ahead and after the meeting at least two evangelists should remain at least for a week. Before Revivals and Conventions, all assemblies should hold tarrying prayer meetings before the scheduled time.

⁴⁵Pastor McKeown is said to have attended this programme.

⁴⁶Constitution 1972, 14.

fasting from the start to the end. The fast starts from 6pm of the 19th to 6pm of the 27th instant. Those who cannot fast for the whole eight days can wait at their stations and join it at any day between the 19th and the 27th. All pastors, Workers and Elders should make it a point to attend without fail. Every member who knows he or she is a helper of the Lord's work should also attend.⁴⁷

The earliest reference we have on this feast is in 1954. We read:

Feast of Tabernacles (see Lev. 23:33 - 44) should be observed yearly by all the saints. Verse 41 says, it should be observed for ever in all generations. When this period approaches, all Assemblies shall be informed to prepare. In this case all saints shall meet at one place with one accord.⁴⁸

This feast does not seem to have been well publicised or perhaps it did not receive popular acceptability in the organisation. The present leadership do not seem to have even the faintest idea of its celebration ever taken place within the church.⁴⁹

Role and Status of Women

Women played prominent role in the organisation. One's gift is the main determining factor not gender. Though women's ordination is not practised, women were not assigned any inferior role in the development of the movement. Women 'Workers' became part of Anim's work force from the very beginning. Comfort Nyakoah and Sister Oparebea were the two sisters who accompanied Anim and others to Brekumanso to witness the phenomenon of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit in 1932. During the revival meetings of 31st August to 12th September, 1932, "the **Sisters** filled with the Holy Ghost were moved to lay hands on the **Brothers** and some were baptised by the Holy Ghost".⁵⁰ Some of the women workers we come across before April 1953 are : Sister Debora Kumi, Esther Anim, Esther Ami, Beatrice Owiredun, Elizabeth Anima, Mary Jona-Andor, Sabina Acquah, Mary Ama Obon, Sara Keelson. There were also women among the prophets in the church, though they were not

⁴⁷*CAC Monthly Teachings and News Letter*, no. 4/56: 25/8/56.

⁴⁸"Teachings given to the Gold Coast Christ Apostolic Assemblies at Nsawam", June 18 & 19, 1954, 2. Private collections.

⁴⁹There is no reference to it in any of the constitutions.

⁵⁰Anim, 6.

included in the 'Prophets Band'. Reasons for this may be practical rather than theological.⁵¹

Marriage

Purity of life was one of the cardinal teachings of Anim, and this applied strictly in the area of sexuality. All marital arrangements were not to be made by the individuals concerned, but through the leadership. The young men were not to approach a "maiden in a way of wooing her, but should do so through his Elder or Elders". It was also strictly forbidden that single members of the youth group visit the opposite sex. The main reason behind these regulations was that of the maintenance of moral purity within the church, which is taught to be a necessary requirement for the continued manifestation of God's presence among the group.

The members were to marry Christians only. The prospective partner need not necessarily be a member of the Anim's group. If an unbelieving husband of a sister dies she is not to marry the unbelieving brother of the deceased. Marriage is deemed to be null and void only on the following grounds: death of a partner, fornication, impotency discovered immediately after the marriage ceremony/solemnisation.⁵²

Divorce

The Church believed that divorce was not part of the original plan of God for couples. If through chronic sickness or any other circumstances affecting one of the spouses or difficulties of various kinds arose in the matrimonial relationship, they

⁵¹The engagement of unmarried women workers was discontinued for what was termed 'precautionary measures' (Executive Council Minutes, September, 1950. Private collections).

⁵²The use of Marriage Certificates in all the assemblies was enforced by the executive in September 1950. Whereas the Anim's members were not forbidden from marrying Christians of other denominations, the Presbyterian Church was unwilling for their members to marry from Anim's group. At a Synod meeting in 1925 under "Marriage with Members of Faith Tabernacle Church" We read:

It was agreed not to make any rule but to advise our members against such marriages and to make it clear to them that it might affect their connection with our church (Synod Meeting, 22-23 May, 1925, Minute 5)

should be prepared to endure rather than seek divorce. The church laid down regulations which were considered Scriptural.

Polygamy

This was not allowed or encouraged on the part of any Worker, Elder or member of the Church. Originally polygamists were accepted and baptised into the Church, they were, however, not allowed to be appointed into any office of the Church or to partake of the Lord's Supper. These restrictions were meant to discourage the act of polygamy (1 Tim. 3:2, 12; Titus 1:6). Polygamists baptised into the Church who were endowed with any of the gift(s) of the Spirit were allowed to use their gifts in the Church "so long as they concur with the principles of the Church".⁵³ The present position is that "Polygamists are accepted but not baptised into the Church, until they decide to live a monogamous life."⁵⁴

Fasting

Fasting is one of the disciplines of the church, though it is not clear the specific role it plays in the spiritual development of the church. Individual and group fastings were part of the spiritual exercises of Anim's group. Anim himself for a long time lived on one meal a day. During the early days of the movement fastings were held on Fridays. These fastings were strictly followed. In time of crises, every member was called upon to fast. This was referred to as forced fasting. This so called forced fasting was observed first by what was referred to as the "command of the Holy Spirit", and secondly "when calamity is coming or had fallen on the saints". As from 1st October 1950 the leadership introduced what was called "systematic or organised fasting". In this arrangement, all members were to keep a fast from 6 am to 6 pm on Wednesdays and Fridays. Fasting, combined with prayers started from 9 am to 2 pm and 7 pm to 9 pm. At the close of the evening services, offerings were collected for the poor. This collection, termed 'Poor Offering' was for the use of the poor, sick, widows and orphans in each assembly. Fasting is still practised by

⁵³Constitution 1964, 17.

⁵⁴Constitution 1989, 66. Information on this subject in this present constitution is rather brief. It is not clear whether those in such situation will be allowed to exercise their gifts as the previous constitution stipulates or not.

the church. The position of the church on this has now been systematically defined. Its mishandling by some in the past has also been dealt with.⁵⁵ The church now maintains one regular fasting every Friday. In the 1989 constitution, under *Friday Fasting and Prayers*, we have the following:

An isolated place must be chosen for this purpose. In the absence of

⁵⁵The following is the present position of the church (Constitution 1989, 59f.)

- a. Fasting is one of the acceptable services of any believer which God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit has approved of (Isaiah 58:1-2; Matt. 6:16-18; 9:14-15; Acts 13:2).
- b. We can fast as individuals in times of difficulty. The whole congregation can fast also at the instant of the outbreak of any disease within the Church, or when there is inactivity in the Church and more than that, when the Church wants to elect a leader that they may not be misled.
- c. Workers can set apart a time for fasting as Christ did. For forty (40) days either for repentance, or to ask for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit or when the Church is holding a programme or in order to hold some revival service as the Spirit of the Lord might direct or instruct each individual.
- d. There is nothing like choosing fasting for the sick. This, apart from being unscriptural, also indicated lack of love and mercy for the sick person. A healthy person should carry the burden of the sick person.
- e. The Bible has not taught us to choose fasting for the pregnant. Fasting for the pregnant woman can disturb the pregnancy since such woman does not already eat enough. What the Bible has chosen for her are: Modest and Righteous living; she is to show love, gentleness, meekness, humility to the husband, etc. be steadfast and unmovable in her faith in Christ, and not to take to fasting (1 Tim. 2:15).

Paragraphs d & e above seem to be dealing with some serious internal problems. In the primal view, during pregnancies the expectant mother and the baby are subjected to intense spiritual attack by evil spirit-force. Certain rituals are therefore usually performed during the pregnancy to secure the necessary protection for the expectant mother and the baby. Among the pentecostalist movements special prayers are normally said for all expectant mothers to secure their safe delivery. It appears from paragraphs e & d above that among Anim's group, some individuals prescribed certain ritual fastings for expectant mothers, without considering its health implications, hence this provision.

any suitable place the fasting and prayers must be done in the Church House. The prayers and singing should continue until 2.00 p.m. The service must come to a close after offertory has been followed by Benediction.⁵⁶

Casting out of Evil and Unclean Spirits

Exorcism is practised by the Church. In the early days of the organisation various forms of practices developed around this. For example, clothes and other personal effects of the possessed were burnt after the exorcism. One of the prophets of the movement had the following message for the church on this:

In my prayer, I was asked by the Spirit of the Lord to tell you the following:-

First of all, the Spirit asked me whether it was good to burn the clothes of a person whose evil spirit had been [cast] out? He asked me this because we were used to that practice. He continued with his question and asked again whether or not an evil spirit lives in lifeless things?

The Spirit made it plain to me that, burning of personal properties such as, clothes, garments etc. belonging to a person whose evil spirit(s) had been [cast] out is a sin; because the word of God which casted out the evil spirit from the person is able to sanctify the things. Furthermore, evil spirits never live in lifeless things. If a person himself or herself [insists] that you should burn them then you are at liberty to do so but you Prophet or Prophetess should not suggest or ask him or her that the things are to be burnt.⁵⁷

Because of the importance of demonology in the theological thinking of this organisation both the 1964 and 1989 constitutions has a provision on it.

When demons are being dealt with according to Mark 16:17, Luke 10:17; Acts 5:16 and 8:7; it is always advisable wherever possible to do this in private, or in an anteroom or some other suitable place. Should it be necessary to deal with such in tarrying meetings, then it is wise to enlighten those present as to the nature of this procedure, as the danger is (if they do not claim protection by the Blood of Christ) that the demons which are to be cast out will possess them; but the officiating Minister must be tactful in announcing warning not to instil

⁵⁶Constitution 1989, 63.

⁵⁷A prophecy from Prophet Emmanuel Attah 1956. *CAC Monthly Teachings and News Letter*, 4/56: 25 Aug. 1956.

fear into congregation.

Casting out demons in public meetings should be refrained from as far as possible. In cases where it is advisable to do this in public, then great wisdom and tact is necessary. It is also wise for those dealing with such cases to distinguish between various kinds and degrees of demon possession, and to remember that according to Matt. 17:21, there are kinds of demons that can only be cast out through prayer and fasting.⁵⁸

Washing of Feet

Feet washing was practised by Anim's movement for some time during the early days of its existence. This was however stopped when it was considered irrelevant. The matter came up again in the Executive meeting of April 1952 when a prophecy was given to the effect that the practice be revived in the church. This was however not accepted since it was considered that it was not one of the required sacraments of the Christian church.⁵⁹

Dress Code

In 1952 *revelations* were given to the effect that, pastors and Workers, males and females alike, should be in gowns when officiating, ministering or on duty. "This being the robes of the Apostles, the Meeting approves of same". The women were to wear head dress and red band or girdle in addition.⁶⁰ A *revelation* was received in which the wearing of clerical collars by Pastors and Evangelists in the church was to

⁵⁸Constitution 1964, 27 cf. 1989, 60.

⁵⁹Anim explained that the CAC had practised that before but had to stop because it was considered obsolete. He pointed out that this ritual was not one of the sacraments of the church unlike Water Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Feet washing, he taught, was used by Jesus to illustrate his teachings on humility. Anim then ruled that stress should be placed on the practice of humility, and not the ritual itself. This issue came up again at the famous Nsawam teaching seminar/service of June 1954. "Under feet washing" we read: This should be done, but among Pastors and deserving Elders and Deacons only. Not all the congregation. If any of them is suffering from any contagious disease he should be excluded, because then he is not clean before the Lord (Teachings, June 1954). This practice is no more part of the church's rituals.

⁶⁰The GEC minutes of April 1952. Private collections.

be discarded. This however became the point of further discussion by the executive, perhaps because of the doubtful nature of this prophecy. Later in the 1964 constitution, under *Peculiar Dress*, we read thus:

Unauthorised praying men or women are prohibited to wear peculiar dress such as gowns, beards, turbans, etc., of the Church to distinguish themselves. This applies to both workers and members.⁶¹

By 1972 the position on ministers dress had been expanded and made more specific:

Pastors can use Round Collar, but this is not compulsory. Those who can not speak English are advised not to use the Round Collar. Prophets and Evangelists can use long white Frock (but not with decorated arms) to show signs of purity and humility (Matt. 3:1-14). Ordained Prophets and Evangelists who are literates can use round collar with their frock during public services.⁶²

This present position seems to be what is now generally practised in the church.⁶³

Personal Names

Some of the local personal names in certain parts of Ghana are associated with divinities. Since Anim taught a complete break from all forms of idolatry, it was ruled that Christians should not retain their pre-Christian names whose origins were associated with divinities.⁶⁴

Care for the Poor and the Marginalised

The care for the marginalised of society (the Poor, Sick, Widows and orphans) was seen as religious obligation rooted in Scripture. It was therefore high on the social agenda of the church. It appears, however, that some of the Assemblies neglected

⁶¹Constitution 1964, 25.

⁶²Constitution 1972, 20.

⁶³The present constitution of the church does not contain any statement on this.

⁶⁴On this, Anim is not alone. Some of the neo-pentecostals, eg., ICGC, espouse the same views.

their responsibility. The cause of this negligence is not clear.⁶⁵

The need for self-improvement for those members of Anim's group who were not privileged to have access to even the modest formal education was for some time high on the social agenda. To arrest the situation, in 1950 the church decided that all pastors and workers who were illiterates and semi-illiterates were to improve themselves in both vernacular and English speaking, reading and writing. Sunday schools were to be enforced within all Assemblies, in order that all illiterate or semi-literate members might improve themselves in the speaking, reading and writing of vernacular and other foreign languages.⁶⁶ Later in 1952 it was recommended that all English, Twi, Ga, or Fanti scholars should improve their proficiency in these areas.⁶⁷

Sacraments

The two main sacraments of the church are water baptism and the Holy Communion. Believer's baptism was practised from the beginning of the organisation.

Water baptism is administered to those who hear and believe the gospel and accept and confess Jesus Christ as their personal saviour with all their hearts. Water baptism by immersion in the Name of JESUS is an outward testimony that we are dead to our old sins, but rise to walk in newness of life with Jesus Christ; it is a direct command of Christ to all who are "saved".⁶⁸

It is not clear how often the communion was celebrated at the very early beginnings of the organisation. What is clear is that it soon became a monthly affair. It is administered to "born again believers who are living free from sin". The theological significance of the sacrament is that:

⁶⁵General Executive Council Meeting, April 1952. Whatever be the cause of this negligence we are not told. What is clear is that the Lord is said to have reprimanded them through prophecy. Anim tells us in 1952 that some of the Assemblies had funds for this purpose. The Asamankese church on every Friday took offerings designated for this purpose.

⁶⁶General Executive Council meeting, September 1950. Private collection.

⁶⁷The Officers meeting of September 1952.

⁶⁸Constitution 1964, 12.

The cup represents the shed Blood of Christ on the cross for our redemption; the bread represents the broken bruised body of Jesus Christ for our healing, (1 Pet. 2.2:24; 1 Cor.11:23-29; 10:16; Matt. 26:28)... and is a living prophecy of the SECOND COMING OF CHRIST.⁶⁹

Our communion and fellowship must be with Christ and not with natural elements, for there is no spiritual virtue in the emblems except in our communion with Him.⁷⁰

Unleavened bread and unfermented wine were used. Left overs "should not be left overnight so as to avoid desecrating of that which has been used in the ordinance (Ex.12:10)".⁷¹ During the early days of the organisation, some assemblies substituted biscuits for bread. One of such assemblies received a revelation to the effect that the use of biscuits for the sacraments was disapproved by God. Since then the church has kept the practice of using unleavened bread for this purpose. The reason why unleavened bread is chosen may be due to the association of the Holy Sacrament with the biblical feasts of *Passover* and *Unleavened Bread*. Unfermented wine is used mainly because of the church's uncompromising stand on alcoholic beverages:

Members or officers engaged in trade should realise the inconsistency of making profit out of the sale to others of things the use of which is wrong to themselves, as for example tobacco or intoxicating liquor. The position is not the same of course, where the member or officer is an employee in a business where general household articles are sold, or for some other reason is not personally responsible for what is being sold. Anyone owning his own business, and selling tobacco or intoxicating liquor should not be put into office or allowed to remain in office⁷²

Though this regulation is absent from the later constitutions, it is nonetheless practised by the church.

⁶⁹Ibid., 12.

⁷⁰Ibid., 13.

⁷¹Ibid., 13.

⁷²Constitution 1964, 30.

Prayer

Prayer is one of the main rituals of the church. Most of these prayers are aimed at soliciting God's help. There is the "Power house of prayer", Friday Fasting and Prayers, Tarry Prayer Meetings, and authorised praying men and women who receive messages from the spirit realm and communicate these to the church and individuals. The method of praying in the church is stated as follows:

There is no method of reciting prayers from prayer books; instead every member of the Church is expected to know how to pray from within his/her own heart as he/she is inspired and led by the Holy Spirit (Romans 8:26-27). *There shall be no burning of candles and incense for prayer; no special fire, no incantation, nor the use of special names of Angels, except the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ* (Acts 4:12).⁷³

Under Power House of Prayer, we have the following:

Power House shall be created and established in the Church for promotion of prayer and the operation of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Every Region should have one or more separate houses for this purpose, and there should always be people present in those houses of prayer, praying for the Lord's servants of the Church and also for the whole world. This house of prayer should never be empty of praying men at any time. Every District is encouraged to have its own Power House.

Dawn Prayer Meeting

The church has also practised dawn prayer meetings for a very long time. On this service, we have the following:

It must start at 4.45 a.m. and end at 6.00 a.m. The prayers must ask for God's protection and draw upon His great sufficiency. The Scripture Reading should be as short as possible.⁷⁴

Apart from Friday fasting and prayers that are undertaken in all the churches, there is also "Tarry Prayer Meetings" which normally take place on Fridays.

Tarry Prayer Meetings which usually come on Fridays, start from 9.00 p.m. till 3. 00 a.m. The service must consist of prayers, teachings and

⁷³Constitution 1989, 58. Italics are mine.

⁷⁴Ibid., 63. In practice, it is the laity that maintains this.

testimonies.⁷⁵

Summary and Significance

Looking at the organisation of independent African Churches, Peel observes:

The study of organisation in independent African churches is valuable not only for how men with particular religious convictions try to express and propagate them, but for how the members of a society with a set number of roles manage to create new roles and new institutions of most African societies.... and in creating a church or a political party [the African] is showing how far his traditional social equipment is viable, and how far he must go beyond.⁷⁶

At the beginning of Anim's ministry, he did not have a particular pattern of church polity or church organisation to follow. As the organisation grew and its needs increased, the relevant systems emerged to meet the needs. The Bible, *revelation*, his traditional understanding of leadership, and "sanctified common sense", appear to have been the four main factors that guided him as he sought to formulate the doctrines of the movement, create appropriate organisational structures, develop authentic characteristic life style, and appropriate liturgical patterns for the movement. The form of church organisation he adopted during the incipient years of the organisation was that of the traditional headman with his team of elders. Anim and his early key leaders like J. A. Armah, Nathan Danso, I. L. Bennett, and Daniel Osei, occupied special positions by virtue of their healing gifts, their control over the content of sermons, their interpretation of visions including dreams, and as accredited agents of God, their prerogative in instructing the congregation about acceptable patterns of behaviour.⁷⁷ Anim and his team of workers attained their position through closeness to God as evidenced in effectiveness of prayer, efficacy of prophecy, revelations, and purity of life.⁷⁸

⁷⁵Ibid., 63.

⁷⁶Peel, 244.

⁷⁷This sharply contrasts the priests of traditional religion whose status is based on chronological age, and generational position.

⁷⁸Leith Mullings 1984. *Therapy and Ideology and Social Change*. London: University of California Press, 132, makes similar observations about a spiritual church in Labadi, Accra.

For the most part, because of Anim's view of the dynamic nature of *revelation*, the organisation relied more on the "mind of the prophets" in most of their deliberations.⁷⁹ Seers and prophets therefore played a major role in forming the spirituality of the organisation. In due course the locally paid prophets extended their duties beyond their respective local assemblies.

The seers of the church were also the professional 'healers' within the organisation. For some time, they wore peculiar dresses like gowns, beards, turbans, as marks of identification. The qualifications required for the office of the seer is spelt out thus:

Before the junior praying officers or seers, male or female could function as such, "they must be placed under careful observation as to whether the Holy Ghost had endowed them with spiritual gifts qualifying them for that ministry and their character and conduct commended by the Presbytery or the Assembly. This person should then be sent to the Area Head for coaching."⁸⁰

The presence of paid healers did not in any way relieve the elders of the church from the responsibility of praying for the sick. The executive clarifies the position thus:

The Elders of the Church should know that they are responsible to pray for all the sick in the Assemblies. See James 5:14. Where there is a paid divine healer in the Assembly, the Elders should not leave the whole healing duties on him/her. The paid healer is responsible to travel in his district or area for serious cases.⁸¹

Prophet or prophetess moved from one assembly to another, giving 'prophetic' messages. Some how in the process of time some either as a matter of convenience or some other reason, confined themselves to particular assemblies or districts. To make their ministries available to the entire church leadership came up with the

⁷⁹For instance we read from official sources that: "Decisions of the Executive Council or the Executive Council Board, shall not be released, except such decisions are put before the Lord in prayer by prophets and the will of the Lord is known in the matter" (Council Minutes, September, 1953. Private collections of present writer).

⁸⁰CAC Constitution 1964, 25.

⁸¹Executive Council Meeting, September 1953. Private collections.

following policy.

Paid prophets should not confine themselves [to] the duties of their Assembly or District alone. They should often as is necessary enter into fasting and prayer and pray for some Assemblies in particular and the Church as a whole. Such revelations received should be submitted to the General Superintendent.⁸²

Now the activities of itinerant prophets have been put under strict control in order to maintain discipline and avoid excesses in the system:

a. Authorised Prayer Men and Seers, Prophetesses who have the authority and right to pray for people shall have no cause which would warrant their travelling to another town to deliver emergency message without the permission or approval of his/her Pastor in charge of the District concerned.

b. The Prayer Men, Seers, Prophets or Prophetesses who go about in the name of the Church in Ghana should be well known to the Church authorities, with tested and proven behaviour and gifts of the Holy Spirit. Such people should also have credentials or testimonials from the Church authorities before being allowed to operate in any Assembly of the Church. Such certificate or testimonial shall be valid for a term of one year, and shall be subject to renewal after the expiry date (1 John 4:1).⁸³

The seers, prophets and elders, who supported Anim occupied positions analogous to those of elders in traditional religion.

The organisation of the church as it has emerged within Anim's movement, does not seem to fit into Turner's "creative eclecticism" model, where "elements both from the traditional past and from the Western Churches" are incorporated.⁸⁴ What seems clear is that Anim's polity is an amalgamation of principles from the "traditional past", and principles enshrined in the Bible, especially Acts of the Apostles, and Ephesians 4:8-13. These principles, from time to time, received lubrication through *revelation* (visions, dreams, and prophecies). Any influence from western church polity, if at all, was very minimal.

⁸²Executive Council, September 1953. Private collection.

⁸³*Constitution* 1989, 58.

⁸⁴Turner 1968, 20.

The Church now uses certain titles which are not found in other pentecostal churches: Prophetic Director, Christian Education Director; Missionary Director; Evangelism Director; Field Supervisor.⁸⁵ Some of the titles used by Anim's organisation as at 1952 were not found among the other pentecostals. It appears it was somewhere between 1952 and 1954 that the title of 'Apostle' began to emerge in the organisation.⁸⁶ Not everyone was entirely happy about these ecclesiastical titles within the CAC. At the famous Nsawam teachings of June 18 & 19, a critique against the use of titles was made.

There were no differentiations in the Acts of the Apostles and as such the office of our Senior Pastor Anim as "General Superintendent" should be abolished and be known as Pastor (Shepherd) over the Lord's sheep. No minister should pile upon himself titles and create for himself, position. He is not to call himself an Apostle, this is confirmed or testified by the Holy Ghost- 2 Cor. 12:12. Ordination of Pastors, Deacons and laying on of hands will be by the leading of the Holy Ghost.⁸⁷

By 1964, the church had institutionalised the titles found in Ephesians 4:11. This decision might have been influenced by the other Apostolic churches.

An examination of CAC's 1964 constitution and the first constitution of COP reveals that, that of CAC is more comprehensive, and very technical in some respects than COP. That of COP appears to have been based largely on CAC's 1964 constitution. It may also be that the two organisations have used a common source.

⁸⁵CAC Constitution 1989, 32f. CAC like the other Apostolics, used the title "Apostle" to designate the more senior ministers, who have distinguished church planting and missionary records. The new executive of CAC has since changed this. Now the term is used to designate a minister who has the gift of church planting/missionary activities. In this case a minister within CAC does not have to attain several years of experience before attaining this title. Those senior ministers who have attained this rank under the previous arrangement still bear the title, for example the present Chairman, Apostle S.K. Asare (Interview with CAC General Deacon H.K. Amponsah and others on 30.9.93).

⁸⁶The following were the various designations of the field workers in Anim's organisation as at 1952: The General Superintendent, Assistant General Superintendent, Area superintendent, Superintendent, General Evangelist, General Secretary, Assistant superintendent, Pastor, Senior Evangelist, Probationary Pastor (abolished on 30th April, 1953), Prophet, Evangelist, Worker.

⁸⁷Teachings given to CAC Assemblies at Nsawam on June 18 and 19, 1954.

This seems unlikely. CAC's constitution predated that of COP, and it was professionally printed and bounded by Mfantseman Press Ltd., Cape Coast, whereas that of COP was just type written.⁸⁸

In spite of the arduous difficulties encountered by the organisation Anim founded, the leadership has succeeded in establishing a self-governing, self-financing, self-propagating, and a self-theologising Pentecostal denomination in the country, whose aim is to bring salvation in its dual-dimensional facets to its followers. In the pursuit of this task, Anim for a long time, operated as the *paterfamilias* of the group, and in conjunction with the "Prayer Men", "Seers", "Prophets" and "Prophetesses", "a liberation movement through which the Holy Spirit sets free many people held in bondage by Satan"⁸⁹ has indeed been firmly established, and many are those who are experiencing salvation in its most vital forms, through the agency of the movement.

⁸⁸Apostle Mika Asamoah, a former personal assistant of Anim indicated to the present writer that McKeown borrowed about six copies of CAC 1964 constitution from Anim (Personal interview 10. 7. 93).

⁸⁹Anquandah 1979, 255.

CHAPTER FIVE

JAMES MCKEOWN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH OF PENTECOST

James McKeown

James McKeown was born on 12 September 1900, in Glenboig, a village of Lanarkshire in Scotland. His parents originated from Antrim, Northern Ireland. The McKeowns relocated to Coatbridge near Glasgow soon after the birth of James. He left school at eleven and helped on his father's farm. McKeown's father, who was a member of the Presbyterian Church in Antrim, became interested in Pentecostalism which was new in UK. He joined the Elim Pentecostal Church in 1908. McKeown was therefore exposed to the pentecostal spirituality at an early age:

I had been in the Pentecostal work since a boy in Coatbridge in 1908. My father got into the work and I was quick to follow all the upheavals, hearing them discussed in the home and being forced to attend all the conferences in Kilsyth and many other places around Coatbridge. It had become part of me.¹

The McKeowns returned to Scotland and settled in Glasgow after spending some years back in Antrim. Here James McKeown joined the Apostolic Church since there was no Elim Church. He soon assumed a leading role in the church. Between 1925 and 1937 he was supervising the work of various assemblies throughout Ayrshire, Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire.²

The Apostolic Church produced its first constitution in 1935. Pastor McKeown refused to affirm it because

It clearly defined an organisational frame work with a hierarchical arrangement of inter-area, area, district, and assembly prophets, each with his own sphere of authority.³

McKeown declined to affirm this constitution because he felt this arrangement contradicted the Scriptures. He felt the Apostolics were using prophecies for their own ends. He states:

I found they were using Prophets and prophecy to carry out their own design,

¹Robert W. Wyllie's personal conversation with J. McKeown, 26 October, 1970. See Wyllie 1974. Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism. *Journal of Religion in Africa* VI:2, 113.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., 114.

the hands being the hands of Esau and the voice being the voice of Jacob.⁴

This early critical stand against the Apostolic Church was in fact going to determine his future relationship with this organisation as well as his future ministry. McKeown's early call into the mission field came in 1935. He could not accept it because he had some negative reservations about the way the call came. McKeown waited until 1937 before accepting to go to the mission field in the Gold Coast.

McKeown and the Church of Pentecost

When McKeown arrived in the country on 2 March 1937, to work with Anim's movement. He worked with Anim's movement for two years before separating from him. Most of his early workers were men who had been with Anim. S. A. Mensah, the first presiding elder of the Winneba church for instance, was one of the workers of Anim.⁵ R. S. Asomaning later became the overseer. Baiden, Smith and J. Cofie Quaye were some of the early leaders of this assembly. As in Anim's movement, women played major roles from an early part. Mary Mensah, Sarah Acquah, and Christiana Bentil, were among the early deaconesses of the Church.⁶

Shortly after McKeown had settled in Winneba, he received an invitation from the leader of the Church of the Twelve Apostles, John Nackabah, to visit his church. On 12th December 1938, Pastor McKeown and his interpreter, S. A. Asomaning, travelled to Kadjabir in the Western Province to meet with John Nackabah and his

⁴Ibid., 114.

⁵The Church at Winneba was opened by Anim as a result of evangelistic campaigns S. A. Mensah had held here with Anim. S.A. Mensah was also involved with the early days of the Nigerian Apostolic Church. Idris Vaughan writes that: "... Pastors S.A. Mensah and E.G.L. Macaulay, leaders respectively of Kaduna and Zaria Assemblies, were Ghanaians who proved themselves loyal to the principles and practices of the Apostolic Church as enunciated by the British Delegation in 1931" (Vaughan, 35f.)

⁶It is not clear as to the number of members of Anim's church at Winneba who defected to McKeown's camp. It is believed that during McKeown's early days with Anim he preached at Winneba market for some nights. Many souls were won in this campaign. The Winneba church therefore seems to have had some affinity with McKeown from its inception.

group. The arrival of McKeown at Kadjabir was interpreted by Nackabah's group as the fulfilment of a long-awaited prophecy of Prophet Wade Harris, that "A White man would come and teach you".⁷

McKeown's mission to the Twelve Apostles Church lasted for six weeks, during which about 1288 converts were recorded and baptised. This success was a great joy and encouragement to McKeown.⁸ Baeta indicates that some of the leaders of the Church of the Twelve Apostles later broke away from McKeown over the issue of the use of rattles. Questions regarding property and jurisdiction had to be taken to Tarkwa Magistrate for settlement.⁹

Regular evangelistic campaigns characterised the early days of McKeown's organisation. From Winneba, McKeown and Quaye reached out to Saltpond.¹⁰ In some areas churches were opened as a result of an invitation from a group of believers. McKeown and his team of workers planted a branch of the church at Cape Coast and Abura Dunkwa in the Central Province by this means.¹¹

⁷McKeown, in *Herald of Grace* 1939, 41. Quoted by Leonard, 77.

⁸Leonard, 79.

⁹Baeta 1962, 16.

¹⁰Some of the early converts were Mr and Mrs Clay, Ellis, Hagan, R O Hayford, Prudence Anaman, Mary Okyere, Madam Kwansema, Mame Karikari and others. Papa Clay became the first presiding elder of the Saltpond church. For some time Prudence Anaman served as an overseer in Saltpond. These became strong supporters of McKeown. One other convert during the campaign here was Mrs Obo, a well educated, wealthy UTC agent, and a leader in the Saltpond Methodist Church. During McKeown's first Saltpond Campaign at the Miller's Square, invitation letters were sent out inviting people to the meeting. Mrs Obo received one but somehow she mixed it up with her wares. According to Mrs Eunice Addison, daughter of Mrs Obo, at the last day of the meeting, Madam Obo incidentally found the letter so she decided to attend, apparently for curiosity sake. For Mrs Obo, it was McKeown's teaching on the Holy Spirit that caught her attention (Unpublished manuscript of the *History of the Church of Pentecost*, 21; cf. interview with Mrs Eunice Addison, 9.9.93).

¹¹Two gentlemen, Messrs Attah and Quayson and four women: Maame Tevi, Mrs Daisie, Araba Essoun and Elizabeth Hanson, who had organised a prayer group, invited McKeown for a visit in 1940. Evangelistic campaigns were held by McKeown during the visit and the few converts were added to the prayer group to start the new church there.

One of the men who is said to have greatly contributed to the rapid expansion of McKeown's movement was Evangelist Hayford and his team. This man ministered with *signs and wonders* following. He evangelised several parts of the country. Through the efforts of Hayford, Asomaning and others, the church was firmly established in the Ashanti Region.¹²

The nationals took the initiative in getting the work done in most cases. The Accra church was started by a group of believers who had defected from Anim's group in 1941. Under the leadership of A.S.A. Mallet, they contributed £500 to the Church in 1942 in order for a full time pastor to be stationed there. J.A.C. Anaman was therefore able to assume the pastoral responsibility of the Church in February 1944.¹³

Evangelist Hayford and his team opened branches of the Church in Abisim in 1942. From Abisim, evangelistic campaigns were launched at Suhum by Hayford and his group. S. K. Amankwah, one of the Suhum converts, relocated to Nkawkaw in January 1942. In 1943 he and his children and relatives started a branch church. Miraculous healings attracted many people to the church, more so when they involved

There was a group of believers at Abura Aboase near Abura Dunkwa, believed to be members of the Apostolic Faith. This group was led by the twin brothers: Yaw Atta Kakra and Yaw Atta Payin. These brothers had the gift of healing and the working of miracles. McKeown visited the group in 1940. He stayed with them for two nights during which he conducted some evangelistic meetings. The converts were added to the group and with them he planted a branch of his church there. It is believed J.A.C. Anaman was converted through the evangelistic activities of Atta Kakra and Atta Payin (*The History of the Church of Pentecost*, unpublished manuscript, 22).

¹²The first branch was in the Ashanti Region, was established at Obuasi in 1943. Pastor Asomaning and his team organised a successful convention in Kumasi in 1945 and a branch was opened there. One of the places evangelised by Hayford in 1942 was Dunkwa-on-Offin.

¹³The 1945 General Convention of the church was held here, from March 22 to April 2. This convention was presided over by Pastor C. B. Sercombe, a Bradford missionary who became the Acting Field Superintendent during McKeown leave of absence. The first leaders of the Accra church were ordained during this convention. The elders included: A.S. Mallet, S. L. Adotey, E. Doku Ocansey; the deacons were: E K Mallet, G.A.L. Quarshie, G. Nartey. The following Sisters were also ordained as deaconesses: Victoria Adadevor, Rebecca Dorvor and Juliana Diaba.

key leaders of the local society. The Adontenhene of Abetifi was taken seriously ill and during one of his visits to Abetifi he was prayed for by Pastor Ankama and Elder Amankwah. He was healed through the prayers and this resulted in a great revival at Abetifi, which led to the formation of a branch of the church there.¹⁴

By the end of 1947 most of the strategic towns in the Eastern Region: Koforidua, Suhum, Nkawkaw, Abetifi Akim Tafo, Otummi, New Abirem, Akropong, Amonokrom, Jumapo, and Aseseeso, had been reached. The church in the Eastern Region developed faster than all the other regions. By 1948 the church here had made tremendous progress.¹⁵

The Transvolta Togoland and the Northern Territories were the last places to be reached by McKeown's movement, mainly because of communication factors. It was the young men in Accra who first planted the church in what is now Volta Region. Itinerant evangelists were sent to many parts of the Volta Region between 1945 and 1949. Pastors Duffour and Asomaning preached at Kadjebi in 1948. Churches were planted out of their activities. Evangelist Jonny Mallet preached the gospel at Tsito in 1948. At the 1949 General Council Meeting at Oda the executive decided to send full time workers to the Volta Region. C.C.A. Hushie and Ayisi were posted to Peki and Kadjebi respectively in February 1950 as overseers. Ayisi resigned after six months, and J.E. Wilson replaced him. R.O. Hayford, the then leading evangelist of the church was temporarily posted to Peki in 1951 to help. The church saw rapid growth as a result of the activities of these men. In 1950 assemblies were established at Akpafu Mempeasem, Kpalime, Jasikan, and Kabu. A.S. Mallet was posted as the first regional pastor. Assemblies were opened at Anloga, Ho, and Keta in 1952. F.D. Walker was posted to Kadjebi in 1952 and Ahamansu, Asukorkor, Dodo Amanfrom, Kwamekrom, and Tokola assemblies were established. Before the 1953 secession the strategic towns in the Volta Region had been reached

¹⁴This church was pastored by Pastor S. H. Ankamah who was then stationed at Akim Tafo (*History of the Church of Pentecost*, unpublished manuscript, 25).

¹⁵Ibid. This success was largely due to two main factors: This region had already witnessed much of the evangelistic activities of Anim's group. The ground therefore had already been prepared. Much of the activity of the early evangelists of the church was concentrated here.

with the gospel.¹⁶

The church did not reach the Northern Territories until 1953 when E. C. Apau-Asante was transferred there as a missionary. On 28th April 1953 Pastor Apau-Asante and his family arrived in Tamale to begin the work in the Northern Territories. He met about ten members of the church who had been transferred by their employers from the south to the region. With this group the church was opened. The church here did not experience the kind of rapid growth which took place in the south. The main reason seem to be that unlike the south where the Pentecostals had the benefit of a fertile soil as a result of about 120 years of Christian teaching of some sort by the historic churches, the north was destitute of this sort of fertilisation. Other possible reason may be that the work there did not get the benefit of the activities of the dynamic evangelists of the church. It may also be attributed to the fact that since that part of the country was the most deprived in the country social service would have accelerated the progress of the work.¹⁷

By the year 1952 the church had spread throughout the country. The first convention the Apostolic Church had after the secession from Anim was attended by about 200 members. By 1952 the church could talk of having 53 ordained local pastors, 512 assemblies and about 10,000 members.¹⁸ The church believes it has been able to achieve its numerical strength primarily because of its uncompromising stand in three main areas: prayer, holiness/discipline, and evangelism.¹⁹

¹⁶*The History of the Church of Pentecost*, unpublished manuscript, 27.

¹⁷The clinics of the Assemblies of God missions for instance, enhanced their evangelistic activities here.

¹⁸History of the Church of Pentecost 1987, 11.

¹⁹Interview with Martinson K. Yeboah, the current Chairman of COP, on 3.10.93. Another senior official of the church, Apostle Opoku Onyina, believes the "structure" or the polity of the organisation is another factor (See Christine Leonard 1989. *A Giant in Ghana* Chichester: New Wine Press, 122f.). The present writer is however of the view that it is the discipline of the church that has made "structure" effective. It is therefore not the "structure" per se that has contributed to the growth of the church but the discipline embedded within the system. The kind of hierarchical structure that is found in COP is also found, for example, in CAC and the Apostolic Church, Ghana, but in terms of numbers and wealth, these churches are far behind COP.

The first fifteen years of McKeown's ministry in the country after his separation from Anim in 1939 were uneventful. Like Anim, McKeown had no material resources coming from outside to support the infant church. The recession in the country due to the War and the fall in commodity prices had its toll on the finances of the indigenously funded churches. Though McKeown's movement, like Anim's, had among its fold those that occupied the low level of the socio-economic ladder, there were few relatively wealthy individuals like Mrs Christiana Obo and Nee Annan, whose considerable financial contributions helped the church out of her financial struggles.

CONFLICTS AND RESOLUTIONS IN MCKEOWN'S MOVEMENT

Preamble

McKeown, after separating from Anim, continued to serve as a missionary of the British Apostolic Church for 15 years before seceding in 1953 to form his own organisation. McKeown may have had problems with certain aspects of the polity of the UK Apostolic church but this does not seem to be the main cause of his secession. The main reason was the visit of a North American pentecostal evangelistic group called the 'Latter Rain' led by Dr Thomas Wyatt. The visit of this group seemed to have been the main reason that led to secession break within the Apostolic church.

The Wyatt Controversy and subsequent secession of McKeown

Pastor Fred C. Poole, the Superintendent Minister of the Philadelphia, USA, branch of the Apostolic Church, was directed by God to lead a team of evangelists to strengthen the Apostolic Church in the Gold Coast. Poole and Adam McKeown (the brother of James McKeown) wrote to the Gold Coast church on this. The Apostolic pastors in USA had sought fellowship with Dr Wyatt's Latter Rain Evangelical Association. The USA office contacted Bradford on the intended mission to Ghana, and it is said that it took Bradford some 18 months to give its consent. The Ghanaian brethren were apparently left in suspense. At a meeting in September 1952, it was decided "that the superintendent write to ask the Americans the reason of their delay

in coming to the Gold Coast. We are ready to receive them".²⁰ The reason for the delay is not clear; two probable reasons may be suggested. A similar team visited Bradford in 1950 and apparently introduced some liturgical forms which were alien to the Apostolic Church. Second, Dr Wyatt, the leader of the team, had married a second woman while his divorced wife was still living. Bradford apparently was investigating this.²¹

Poole and Adam McKeown finally wrote to James McKeown confirming their coming. McKeown, on receipt of the letter convened a meeting on 17th December 1952 to discuss the modalities for the proposed visit. The meeting was attended by A.S. Mallet, S.R. Asomaning, J.E. Paintsil, and the convener, James McKeown. S. Hammond could not attend the meeting so he presented his views in writing.

In February, 1953²², the team, made up of Pastor Fred C. Poole, Adams McKeown and Dr Thomas Wyatt, finally visited the Gold Coast for four weeks. Evangelistic meetings were held at Accra James Town's Mantse Park. Meetings were also held in Kumasi and Cape Coast. The meetings were very successful, with several reported miraculous healings and conversions. Brother Lawson, the founder of Divine Healer's Church, got converted during the Accra crusade. Some of the ministers were promoted during the ministry of Wyatt.²³

From the Gold Coast, the Latter Rain delegation left for Nigeria. The Bradford missionaries in the Gold Coast were then James McKeown (head of the mission), Albert Seaborne, and S.M. Hammond. These men were impressed with the ministry of Dr Wyatt and his team. They were, however, divided on whether they should adopt the form of worship introduced by the visitors or should still stick to that

²⁰Minutes of Council meeting, September 1952. Private collections.

²¹COP 1, 3; Tenobi 1984, 24.

²²Wyllie wrongly gives 1952.

²³Pastors Diaba and Paintsil were promoted to the apostleship. Overseer Yaw was promoted to the pastorate, and Pastor Apau-Asante to the Prophetic office. Apparently not everybody was happy with these promotions. At Konongo General Council meeting of 28th March to 1st April 1953, these appointments were confirmed by the council (Gen. Council Minutes, March 28th to April 1, 1953. Private collections)

of the UK Church. They wrote separate reports to Bradford reflecting their differences.²⁴

McKeown went on furlough in March 1953. He attended the General Council-Quadrennial Conference of the Apostolic Church. The General Council meetings commenced on 2nd of May 1953 in Bradford. The council was composed of 54 Apostles and Prophets, and this was the fullest international representation. The discussion of the Latter Rain came under item 80 on the agenda. The discussion took three days, from 5th to 7th of May. Reports from various parts of the world about the effects of the teachings of the Latter Rain were given.²⁵ The conclusion of the meeting, to the amazement of some, was that the Latter Rain "abused the privileges granted them in condemning both in public and in private, our recognised Church Government in the Apostolic Church".²⁶

The attitude of Wyatt to the Apostolic church also came into focus. Wyatt is also said to have accused the Apostolic Church of muffling the Holy Spirit. Wyatt was also accused of speaking ill of the Apostolic Church's system of pay adopted for its field workers.²⁷

After the various reports on the Latter Rain Movement had been given, participants were asked to re-affirm their faith and belief in the doctrines and practices of the Apostolic Church. The wording of the affirmation was :

I AFFIRM MY BELIEVE IN THE TENETS OF THE CHURCH WHICH INVOLVES CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN ITS PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES AS EMBODIED IN THE CONSTITUTION SUBJECT TO THE AMENDMENT TO OUR PRACTICES WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN MADE AND MAY YET BE MADE IN THE COUNCIL OF APOSTLES AND PROPHETS AS LED BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD FROM TIME TO TIME.²⁸

²⁴COP 1, 3.

²⁵Tenobi, 21.

²⁶From the resolution of the Apostolic Church, Illesha Area Council, Nigeria. See appendix re: Documents on 1953 Secession.

²⁷Tenobi, 21f.

²⁸Ibid.

All the apostles and prophets, with the exception of McKeown and Cecil Cousen, made the affirmation. When it came to the turn of McKeown he said "I cannot conscientiously accept this".²⁹

Prior to the re-affirmation, McKeown had requested constitutional amendments but this was refused. The constitution sought to divide its prophets into: "Assembly Prophets, District Prophets, Area Prophets, and Inter Area Prophets". This was interpreted to mean that a prophet could not prophesy outside his area of jurisdiction. The constitution also stipulated that an African could be an apostle to blacks but not an apostle of the whole church.³⁰ The Executive of the Bradford Missionary Council had previously passed a motion that a white missionary who was not an Apostle could not work under an African Apostle.³¹

McKeown and Cousen, in consequence, were dismissed from the church. During an evening service which was held at Great Horton on the same day, the president announced their dismissal from the church. Another version of the story, which seems to be less likely states that:

After this the two Pastors walked out from the Council and later asked the President to announce in the service held that night at Great Horton that they were no longer members of the church. They also handed over their Ordination Certificates³²

When news on McKeown's fate reached the Church at the Gold Coast, they immediately went into action. Meanwhile McKeown wrote to Pastor Albert Seaborne, the missionary in charge of the Hohoe district of the Apostolic church. The main text of the letter is as follows:

I am sure by this time you will have learned both from official and unofficial sources that there was a show down in Council on the Apostolic Church interpretation of Latter rain and Latter Rain interpretation of the Apostolic church with the result that Pastor Cecil Cousen and I had to hand over our ordination certificates and from that moment we were no longer ... ministers in the church.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰COP 1, 5.

³¹Ibid., 5.

³²Tenobi, 23.

This will have far reaching effects on the Gold Coast. We left the council in the Spirit of the Master and we will walk in that Spirit. Nevertheless the decision reached places us in opposite camps, and will affect the Gold Coast. It now remains to be seen (whether Missionary or African Pastor) who will stand by the declaration we made in the October Council at Dunkwa.³³

S. Hammond, one of the three Bradford missionaries in Ghana, later resigned on this same issue. Pastor J. A. C. Anaman, the Acting Chairman of the Gold Coast Church, convened an emergency meeting of African Pastors and General Deacons on 21st May 1953 to discuss the matter. In his opening address, Anaman stated:

We are not to stay at one stage of our spiritual journey. The Apostolic Church came to enlighten us to some extent, the Latter Rain vision has been higher so despite what people both in this country and abroad say, we must go on to higher realms of power and glory in the Name of the Lord.

The first item discussed after the chairman's opening remarks was 'PASTOR JAMES MCKEOWN'S DISMISSAL IN U.K. The council passed a resolution deploring the attitude of Bradford in sacking McKeown. Copies of the resolution were sent to the Missionary Committee, Bradford, James McKeown in Northern Ireland, the missionaries at the Gold Coast (Albert Seaborne, Hohoe and S. M. Hammond, Saltpond), Superintendent Missionaries in Nigeria and "Responsible authorities on the Gold Coast". The council sent a cablegram to McKeown affirming its support. It further agreed to send him £50 for his upkeep. The cablegram reads:

COUNCIL UNANIMOUSLY BEHIND YOU, DUNKWA DECISION FULLY UPHELD. RESOLUTION FOLLOWS. ANAMAN

Both McKeown and the Council made reference to the 'Dunkwa decision'. It would appear that during this said Dunkwa meeting, the council had anticipated the problem that would emerge as a result of the Latter Rain's visit, and were prepared to face up with any reaction from Bradford.

At an executive council meeting on the 22nd May 1953, the council decided that all official documents of the church should bear the name "GOLD COAST APOSTOLIC CHURCH". The executive further authorised Pastor S.L. Adotey (the Financial Secretary) and G.A. Quarshie "to pay all monies to the Bank in the Name of the Gold Coast Apostolic CHURCH, and to operate the Account in the same

³³ Personal letter of McKeown dated 15th of May, 1953. Private collections.

name".

In the controversy, Pastor Hammond took a stand with the Gold Coast church and McKeown, whereas Seaborne took a stand for Bradford. At an executive council meeting on 8th of June, 1953 the "Council agreed that an official letter be written and signed by the Acting Chairman to Pastor A. Seaborne in reply to his letter of 8th May 1953. It is not clear what the contents of Pastor Seaborne's letter was and also the contents of the response. Tenobi suggests that Anaman's letter asked Seaborne to inform Bradford to recall him from the Gold Coast. Meanwhile he was to refrain from ministering in any of the Assemblies in the Gold Coast.³⁴

We want to briefly mention here that the development of the Apostolic Church in Nigeria followed the same pattern as its counterpart in Ghana. All had its roots in the American Faith Tabernacle. They all subsequently affiliated with the UK Apostolic Church. They all suffered from the problem of secession on the issue of the use of medicine. This was followed by further schism caused by the visit of the Latter Rain movement of Dr Wyatt.³⁵

We now return to the Gold Coast scene. The Missionary Council, on receiving the resolution from the Gold Coast church, wrote immediately asking the leadership to meet a Bradford delegation to discuss the controversy. The Acting chairman, in response wrote back ruling out the possibility of any such meeting. Meanwhile, not everyone in the country backed the move of the Gold Coast church. David Tenobi, a layman then, having gathered enough information on developments within the church from Pastor S. W. Dufour, the pastor in charge of Tarkwa district, took an opposite action. He wrote to Bradford affirming his allegiance. He went to Somanya, and together with S.R. Ocansey and A. Ofori-Addo, a transport owner, managed to stir the assemblies in the Adangbe area against the secession. They arranged accommodation at Somanya for the Seabornes. On 1st September 1953, the Seabornes

³⁴Tenobi, 29.

³⁵In Nigeria the UK Apostolic Church lost Pastor S.G. Elton who had been in charge of the Ilesha division of the work since 1937. In Ghana the UK Apostolic Church lost James McKeown, the superintendent in the Ghana mission. In the Nigerian case only the churches in the Illesha division followed Elton, whereas in the Ghanaian situation majority of the churches followed McKeown.

moved to Somanya. Permit was obtained for the Bradford delegation and on 5th September the delegation, made up of Vivian Wellings and C.H. Rosser, arrived in the country.³⁶

The delegation sent a letter to Anaman, the Acting Chairman, requesting a meeting to be convened to discuss the issue. The Gold Coast church however, could not accede to their request in the absence of McKeown.³⁷ The delegates also replied that they were prevented by the home council from meeting the Gold Coast council together with McKeown.³⁸ A circular letter was sent to the assemblies to the effect that individual assemblies should not receive the delegates until the arrival of McKeown.³⁹ The Somanya faction also wrote a circular presenting their perspective on the case and copies were sent to several assemblies.⁴⁰

The circular letter of the Adangme is said to have won the confidence of a number of the assemblies to affirm their allegiance to Bradford. The Bradford delegation, through the help of Tenobi, Ofori-Addo and others, managed to visit some assemblies in the country to win them back. Tenobi and Ofori-Addo visited "Koforidua, Akim Oda, Agona Swedru, Akroso, Winneba, and several towns in the Central Region". These initial visits paved the way for the Bradford delegation to visit some assemblies at Somanya, Suhum, and Swedru districts. to win their support. But as we will see later, whatever support that Bradford delegation got at this time was short lived. McKeown's return to the country reversed most of their gains.

The Return of James McKeown.

When McKeown fell out with the Bradford Apostolic church, the Gold Coast Church immediately assumed the full responsibility for McKeown. He was invited to

³⁶Tenobi, 29.

³⁷Executive Council Minutes, 9th and 10th September, 1953.

³⁸Minutes of Emergency Committee Meeting, 22nd Sept., 1953. Private collections.

³⁹Minutes of Eastern Province Workers meeting, Managoase, 25th to 26th of September, 1953. Private collections.

⁴⁰Tenobi, 30.

the Gold Coast after his supporters had obtained a re-entry visa for him. The Latter Rain movement later on offered to provide some support for McKeown.⁴¹ Wyllie indicates that McKeown's ticket back to Ghana was provided by Wyatt's organisation.⁴² He returned to the country somewhere in 1953. A ten-day Pastors' Council was convened at New Tafo, Koforidua, from 10th to 19th October.

The meeting started at 7pm on 10th October. In the opening address, the Acting Chairman, J.A.C. Anamam stressed on the need for unity among the leadership. This was followed by some prophecies stressing unity, humility and the need for heavenly wisdom. Thereafter a vote of confidence in the Acting Chairman for the way he had handled developments within the church during McKeown's absence was generally carried. The council after these initial deliberations, decided to revoke the last clause of the resolution passed on May 21st. "That we shall not entertain any delegation sent to us by the home council". This was called for so that discussions with the Bradford delegation would be possible. The council then agreed to send out an invitation to the Bradford delegates at Somanya to attend the session on Wednesday, 14th October, to present their case to the council.

The Bradford delegates responded positively to the invitation of the council and attended the session on 14th October. After the leader of the delegation, Pastor Wellings, had addressed the meeting, Pastor McKeown also presented his case. After this the delegation and McKeown were made to take leave of the meeting. The council then resolved to have McKeown as their superintendent and chairman. Pastors D. K. Boateng and G. Alfonso Wood were delegated to inform McKeown at his residence of the council's decision.

It is reported that during the council meeting on the following Thursday, 15th of October, the "Spirit of God ...swept mightily over the meeting" and all members

⁴¹COP1, 4. Two key factors might have contributed to the local support for McKeown. McKeown's identification with the local people is said to have been complete and total. They therefore developed special love for him. The second factor may be due to the political climate of the time and the heightened nationalist activities for independence from the British colonial rule. Control and domination by the UK Apostolic Church on the affairs of the Gold Coast church might have been felt to be inimical to their dignity as a people.

⁴²Wyllie, 120.

of the council but two reaffirmed their commitment to the resolution made in May. The two members who refused to affirm the resolution were Pastor D.K. Boateng, Suhum District Pastor, and Mr J. E. Smith, General Deacon, Central Area. Several prophecies were given on this day and the following day affirming that the council was moving in the right direction and that it should remain faithful to McKeown because God had chosen him to lead the church to greater heights and that all opposers would be defeated. The minutes indicate that:

There were 3 prophecies through Pastors Phrimpong, Apau-Asante and Quaye to the effect that all should abide by their word of oath to stand by God's servant McKeown; all opposers to this new light will be defeated and God will not allow anything to deter Him doing a new and greater work in this land; soon God will send us by twos and threes to far-off lands to manifest [God's glory].

There were other prophecies on Friday through Pastors Phrimpong, Kesse, Dufuor and Apau-Asante that God will bring many souls though the adversary will try to withstand us and though many members will murmur as did Israel of old when they were being led by Moses. God will lead to Victory. A new life of power is being imparted to all and so all are to abide in God's grace. During the Friday's meeting Pastor Sackey prophesied along the same line

God's servant McKeown is here to lead us to a higher thing in Him. Our re-affirmation to the resolution is only physical but all should reaffirm their identity with Christ Jesus. Many of us will be sent to far-off lands in twos. Nothing can spoil the work God has planned to do in this land before we were born.

Meanwhile the activities of David Tetteh A. Tenobi had come to the notice of the council so he was invited to attend the session on 15th of October to explain his involvement with the Adangmes against the decision of the executive. Tenobi promised to ask all the offended Adangmes to come to the rally at Sekesua on 23rd of October so that McKeown would be able to explain matters to them. ~~During~~ the deliberations of the Oda Council, the executive finally decided to secede from Bradford and a letter to this effect was written to Pastor Wellings by Anaman:

According to the promise in my (secretary's) letter of 16th instant I am instructed by the council to write to inform you that considering the facts in our possession through your explanation and those of Pastor James McKeown, we have no other alternative than to affirm our stand by our former resolution. We are ever open to have fellowship with you in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Pastor McKeown carried out an extensive tour of the country to explain matters to the assemblies during and after the Oda Council. In the company of Pastors

Mallet, Apau-Asante, Walker, Adu-Pare, and Boateng, McKeown visited Suhum on Sunday, the 18th of October. A similar visit was made to Swedru and Winneba districts on 21st of October. These visits and many others which he later undertook, yielded positive results for McKeown's organisation: the Gold Coast Apostolic Church, as Tenobi writes:

After the Tafo meeting, McKeown carried out an extensive tour of the country explaining his version of what happened at the Bradford Conference. With the great influence that he wielded over the church in Ghana, he succeeded every where in convincing the members to follow him.⁴³

A Resolution by the Church in the Ashanti Region

The Ashanti have always had a sense of independence in the socio-political processes in the country. This sense of unique identity influenced the way they perceived the crisis. The leadership of the Apostolic Church in the Ashanti Province felt the need to decide their own fate in the matter. The District Council of the Pastors, Overseers and Elders of the district convened a meeting at Wiemoase on the 26th December 1953 under the chairmanship of J.A.C. Anaman. The meeting was attended by six pastors including the late F.D. Walker, who later became an Apostle and one of the bulwarks of the church; six overseers including F.S. Safo, a former disciple of the late Apostle F.D. Walker. (Safo later became the first Ghanaian Chairman of the Church after the retirement of McKeown); and 80 elders from all the assemblies in Ashanti and Ashanti Akim.⁴⁴

The meeting was opened with a period of prayer, then the first item on the agenda, "The present crisis in the Church" was tabled. Prophet S. H. Ankama, the Manpong-Ashanti District Pastor, was asked to address the meeting, "concerning the dismissal of James McKeown and its subsequent results". This was followed by the discussion of the issue of unity in the church. After a period of questions and discussions, the council unanimously passed the following resolution:

1. That some assemblies which through ignorance have entertained divisions

⁴³Tenobi, 34.

⁴⁴Minutes, Ashanti Province District Council, 26th December 1953. Private collections.

among them should be instructed to come to oneness, and should see that harmony is restored between them and their pastors and overseers.

2. That we reserve to ourselves the right, as a church to invite any Latter Rain Team, or any Team of Evangelists, to visit us, be they from Europe or America.
3. That in considering the work of the recent visit of the Latter Rain Team and their assistance to us, the council decided that our unity with them must not be limited, but that a general unity be sought for oneness in the church.
4. Our state of independence should be stressed, and if there be any unity with Bradford, it should be on the basis of fellowship with autonomy.
5. That we write a letter to Pastor Rosser at Somanya to communicate with Bradford to reinstate Pastor McKeown.
6. That should Bradford refuse to reinstate Pastor McKeown, we in Ashanti will continue to work with him as before.

The meeting then appointed a committee to work out and implement the modalities for the restoration of unity within the church with particular reference to the Ashanti Region. The committee was also mandated to inform Pastors McKeown, Seaborne and Rosser of the resolution passed.

Pastor Seaborne remained with Bradford, whereas Pastor Hammond joined the Church under McKeown. Seaborne later travelled to Nigeria as Bradford's missionary. When the leader of the 1953 Bradford delegation, Pastor Wellings, left the country, Pastor Rosser oversaw to the interests of the Apostolic Church, Bradford, in the country. C.B. Sercombe, who was at one time the Acting Superintendent for McKeown, came back to the country in March 1954 to use his influence to gather more members for Bradford. His presence in the country brought some small gains to the Bradfords.

The Church led by McKeown was named the Gold Coast Apostolic Church, and the church that stayed with Bradford became the Apostolic Church of the Gold Coast. As at the time of the secession in 1953 the Apostolic church had 28 ministers made up of five Apostles, three prophets, 19 Pastors, and one evangelist. There were also four General Deacons.

The immediate cause of the secession was the visit of Dr Thomas Wyatt and his group. If there were other factors such as the issue with the polity of UK Apostolic Church, these seem to have been only ancillary to the immediate cause. It will be recalled that in 1935, McKeown had an encounter with the Apostolics on the issue of church polity, when McKeown is said to have refused to affirm the 1935

constitution under similar circumstances.⁴⁵

The reason why the Apostolics deemed it expedient to introduce in their constitution clauses which some of their own missionaries will find it difficult to sign for the sake of conscience, we may not fully understand. The Bradford Apostolic headquarters have not been able to provide the present writer with copies of the earlier constitutions. Sercombe, writing in the 1970s, looks at the secession in this light:

At the time Africanisation and independence was at its height in Ghana or the Gold Coast as it was then, and as one member of the (Latter Rain) team was Pastor McKeown's brother who had accepted this teaching in America, it was not difficult for him to take advantage of this visit with its demonstration of healing and other manifestations to influence the African council to secede from the World Apostolic Church and restyle themselves the Gold Coast Apostolic Church, and thus repudiate the authority of the Home Missionary Committee and General Council. Had it been a question of autonomy for the Gold Coast, our General Council would have had no objection providing the field was ripe for such, but this had never been an issue, and it was the objection of the Home Committee to the proposed visit of the Latter Rain team that caused resentment in the then Superintendent of the Field (McKeown), which was shared by Gold Coast brethren.⁴⁶

The Aftermath of Secession

The secession soon developed into open "Confrontations between the opposing factions led to squabbles which went to the police and to court. It was a shameful and yet uncontrollable feud between once wonderfully loving Christian brethren".⁴⁷ By April 1954, three pastors, one evangelist, five overseers, and two general deacons had defected from McKeown's camp. Also several Assemblies from the regions had defected: Ashanti 15; Central seven (two assemblies saw only partial defection); Eastern eight. These assemblies seceded from the 512 assemblies of the Apostolic

⁴⁵Wyllie, 114.

⁴⁶Sercombe's personal conversation with Wyllie, dated November 9, 1970 cf. Wyllie 1974, 119.

⁴⁷Tenobi, 34.

Church.⁴⁸

Bradford instituted a legal action to recover its assets from the Gold Coast Apostolic Church. The presiding judge, Justice Lingley, on the 12th July 1956 decided against McKeown's organisation.⁴⁹

⁴⁸General Council Minutes of April 1954. Private collection.

⁴⁹For convenience we quote his decision below.

I consider the plaintiffs- the Apostolic Church suing by its properly authorised representatives are entitled to maintain this action. The action is one for an account. I have been referred to no accounts in the ordinary form and I consider the only matter now in issue is the control of the banking account of the Apostolic Church.

I am satisfied that:

- (1) Various small but independent religious bodies joined the Apostolic Church.
- (2) Such properties and monies that they brought with them became the property of the Apostolic Church.
- (3) At a later stage a large number of the members wished to break away and form an independent Apostolic Church of the Gold Coast: and they did so break away.
- (4) Those forming the new organisation had no longer authority to operate its banking account.

The break away in practice consisted of the new Church repudiating the executive authority or the executive organ of the old Church known as the Missionary Committee at Bradford. The defendants contend that they are not really a new Church but a continuation of the existing Church constituted by the various bodies who originally joined the Apostolic Church: they also contend that the principles of the Church encourage the formation of independent responsible bodies in the missionary field.

I consider however that any re-organisation unauthorised by the Bradford Committee must be taken to result in the creation of a Church: a new Church starting without property unless by arrangement with the parent body.

I therefore, consider that the plaintiffs are entitled to the account and an order for payments to them of any amount found due. The taken of the account may however be complicated in practice by the conduct of the plaintiffs.

This decision of the court came as a blow to McKeown's faction. They were not expecting a defeat. At the Pastors council meeting held at Juaso (Ashanti-Akim) from 29th -31st October 1956, the matter came up for discussion. Before the matter was tabled, Mrs Obo came in by the permission of the Council, to deliver a message she is said to have received from God to the council.

She told [the] council that God would like members to think of the sufferings of Christ on the Cross, how He was bruised by His enemies and at last crucified. We should also consider how Abraham was cheated by Lot. That though the Court Case had gone against us, we should meditate on the aforesaid and treat our opponents with the spirit of love and pray for them as the Lord Himself prayed for His. That we were right in the step we took. We should not be afraid but go ahead in His power and peace.⁵⁰

When the issue of the court case was eventually tabled for discussion, the chairman, Pastor Anaman confirmed to the meeting that the church lost the case and that as soon as he was able to secure a written copy of the judgment it would be circulated to the assemblies. He advised the council to refrain from further lawsuits and that they should "rather allow the Lord to fight the Battle".

In the course of the deliberations of the council another messenger by name Papa Donkor, travelled all the way from Kumasi with a message which he said he had

The Missionary Committee very reasonably endeavoured to settle the breach by negotiation and left the conduct of its affairs in the Gold Coast in the hand of those people for fear that such action might prejudice any possible settlement.

In these circumstances the defendants may be able to show that certain payments were made from the banking account for the general purposes of the Church or that the plaintiffs must be taken to have impliedly authorised such payments by leaving the defendants in control.

Judgement for the plaintiffs with 60 guineas brief fee and taxed costs against the defendants: the co-defendant to pay such costs found to be on taxation caused by his joinder; the matter of account is referred to the Registrar of this Court to take the account; a formal order appointing him to be drawn up: any further costs to be a matter for application to this Court.

(Sgd.) L. G. Lingley (JUDGE)
(Source: Tenobi, 38.)

⁵⁰Minutes, Pastors Council meeting held at Juaso (Ashanti-Akim) from 29th-31st October 1956. Private collections.

received from God for the council. By the permission of the council he delivered his message.

He said God told him to tell the Council to be faithful in all its deliberations concerning the present crises that prevailed on the church. That difficult circumstances stir faith and love. That the Council should not feel it too difficult to let things go as He himself would replace, feed, clothe and shelter us in a most wonderful way and that He would do this [as early as Christians, sic] (as he did for the early Christians) if only we surrender all.⁵¹

Apparently this message brought some consolation to the council as Papa Donkor's fare of £6 was refunded to him.

At the General Council meeting in April 1957, presided over by J.A.C. Anaman, Pastor Mallet read a copy of the judgment. For some unknown reasons it took a considerable period of time before the church could secure a written copy of the judgment. The church had to pay a total sum of £3244 2s. 6d to the Bradford Apostolic Church.⁵² This settlement did not bring to an end the disputes between the two organisations. The properties held by the local assemblies could not be handed over to the Bradford faction at this time since they were held by the individual assemblies. The Bradfords were therefore left with the option of suing the various local assemblies individually to recover them.⁵³

Several court cases ensued in the process. As at April 1958, Tenobi, now a pastor, had filed five court cases against the officers of the church. One was pending at the Supreme Court, Accra, with regard to the accounts of the church; two pending at the Divisional and Lands Court, Accra; two at the Divisional and Lands Court, Cape Coast. Pastors McKeown, Anaman (Asst. Chairman), Paintsil (General Secretary), Adotey (Treasurer/Financial Secretary), and Elders Prah and Owusu Osei were involved in the lawsuits.⁵⁴ During all these tussles, Anaman played a very prominent role in defending the cause of McKeown's Apostolic Church.

When Ghana attained her independence in 1957, the Gold Coast Apostolic

⁵¹Minutes, Council Meeting, October, 1956. Private collections.

⁵²Pastors Council Minutes, 27 Oct. - 3rd Nov. 1959. Private collections.

⁵³COP 1, 6 cf. COP 1987, 22.

⁵⁴General Council Minutes, April 1958. Private collections.

Church changed her name to Ghana Apostolic Church and the Apostolic Church of the Gold Coast later changed her name to the Apostolic Church of Ghana.

Through these court cases the building facilities of the major assemblies reverted into the hands of the Apostolic Church of Ghana as McKeown's organisation describes:

At the end of the day the properties of the big assemblies at Kumasi, Sekondi, Sekesua, Krobo Odumasi, Akim Oda, Oyoko (Koforidua), Agona Swedru and Achiasse fell into the hands of the Apostolic Church, Gold Coast.⁵⁵

In spite of this take overs, the majority of the people still remained with McKeown's organisation as we are told

Happily, though they took over big church buildings, the cream and the majority of the members declined to go with them. Thus it was not uncommon to find most of the lost church buildings standing empty while the members of the new church, Gold Coast Apostolic Church, were meeting in make-shift structures in large numbers. The Apostolic Church, Gold Coast, took over the money and the buildings, while the Gold Coast Apostolic Church took over the people and their zeal for God.⁵⁶

The reason why majority of the people remained with the Ghana Apostolic Church is not hard to find. The Ghanaian leaders championing the cause of the McKeown happened to be men with high standing in the eyes of the followers. None of the key leaders as at that time had joined the Bradfords. Tenobi and Ofori-Addo who were steering the cause of the Bradfords, were hitherto unknown entities in the leadership of the organisation. C.H.G. Rosser and Sercombe, the two Bradford missionaries in the country at this time, did not have the kind of influence that McKeown wielded.

Apparently, while all the wranglings were going on, a great number of people within and without the contending churches must have looked at these controversies with great disfavour. Some people from both camps and outside of them yearned to see the end of what seemed like endless controversies. In a particular interesting situation at New Tafo, some members of the Ghana Apostolic Church and some members of the Apostolic Church of Ghana, merged without the consent of the leadership of the two churches.

⁵⁵COP 1987, 22.

⁵⁶Ibid.

The Involvement of the Political Leaders

The political leaders also showed concern. McKeown went on furlough in 1960 and during the Pastors Council meeting at Sunyani from 6th - 10th September 1960,

Council members were informed that the Senior District Commissioner of Accra (on behalf of the President of the Republic of Ghana) has signified to the Acting Chairman and some Pastors, of his intention to settle the differences between the Ghana Apostolic Church and Bradford Apostolic Church and to get the two churches "merged into one denomination". Assurance has been given [by] the Commissioner that Ghana Apostolic Ministers have no objection to the settlement proposed. This assurance was ratified by the Council by majority votes.⁵⁷

The majority of the council members were in favour of a settlement but rejected the issue of the merger of the two churches. It was also hinted that the need for the appointment of a Ghanaian Chairman had been suggested. When this issue was mentioned Pastor Sackey then proposed that the Acting Chairman should be considered for the position. Others strongly objected to the whole idea since McKeown was not in the country, and the creation of the Ghanaian chairman during the absence of McKeown would create more confusion in the church. "There were lengthy, hot and sore arguments on this issue. No final decision was taken by the Council on this proposal, till the return of McKeown".⁵⁸

Why would the government be interested in the appointment of Ghanaian chairman to head the organisation? The Gold Coast had political independence in 1957, and in 1960 it became a republic. The decade 1960s saw the political emancipation of the colonised African countries. The idea of self-hood and the African identity became the battle cry of political thinkers like Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Nkrumah's political movement was largely a grass root movement. The same applies to the pentecostal churches. It may have been perhaps felt that a stable church united under one charismatic African leader would therefore help to foster the aspirations of the government. Or it could be just

⁵⁷Council Minutes, Sept. 1960. Private collections.

⁵⁸Ibid.

that the government wanted peace and harmony to prevail among her citizens.

It is also reported that when McKeown was on leave, Anaman, the Acting Chairman, was questioned by some plain-clothes police men (C.I.D.) about McKeown's activities in the country. Later on McKeown's house, which was by then occupied by Scholes, one of the missionaries working with the Apostolic Church of Ghana, was searched. Anaman later visited the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Interior, and he was shown some 'Private and Confidential' letters from the Ghana Embassy in USA about some undesirable pictures published in America by McKeown, Wyatt, and Berridge, an American missionary with the Apostolic Church (Minutes, GMC, March, 1961. Private collections). At a council meeting held in October, 1960, Anaman read two letters from the Ministry of Interior and his own reply to the minister. These letters dealt with

The taking of pictures of half-naked, or nude people and poor village surroundings in Ghana, and the Government's warning to others engaged in the practice of taking the photos to desist from doing so forthwith. All ministers were warned not to indulge in such practices, as undesirable pictures shown outside Ghana, casts a slur on the Ghana government and its people.⁵⁹

Dr Wyatt published in an American paper *March of Faith* an article headed "Racing Against Time in Ghana" in which he "alleged that Christians in Ghana were greatly disturbed because of the spread of Communism. He averred that there was collusion between Ghana and the U.S.S.R. against the United States".⁶⁰

Anaman later wrote to McKeown on this and the latter wrote directly to the Ministry of Interior "whose reply to the General Secretary of the Church [i.e. the Apostolic Church of Ghana] stated the matter was considered closed "unless you wish me to do otherwise".⁶¹

The Creation of Ghanaian Chairman

The matter concerning the appointment of a Ghanaian head of the church was

⁵⁹Minutes, EGMC, October, 1960. Private collections.

⁶⁰Ministry of Education Press Release, 16th May 1962. Private collections.

⁶¹Ministry of Interior letter no. SCR. 964/12/127/ of 25th October refers (Minutes, GMC March 1960. Private collections.

referred to emergency elders meeting under the chairmanship of General Deacon J. Barte-Plange. The matter was later referred to the General Ministers Council. An emergency General Ministers' Council was convened at Merry Villas, Accra, on 18th October, 1960 to discuss the matter. The meeting was attended by almost all the ministers of the church, the general deacons, and one missionary. The only absentees were Pastors C.E. Apau-Asante, J. A. Enchill, Overseer K.K. Kofie and General Deacon Obuabasa. The issue was the fourth item to be discussed. The council gave their reason for the need for a Ghanaian chairman thus:

In order to relieve Pastor J. McKeown of the onerous administrative burdens, the Executive Council has thought it fit (and has obtained his consent by correspondence) to elect a Ghanaian Chairman. He will still come back to Ghana, and that early, to act as our spiritual Father whose advise will be indispensable.⁶²

We are told that

By unanimous votes, [*sic*] Pastor JAC Anaman was appointed Chairman of the Church. His inauguration will come on the arrival of Pastor McKeown from furlough. Others expressed the idea that the inauguration ceremony should be made at once, but the General Secretary pointed out that will be setting aside the spiritual and scriptural practice which ... grieve the Spirit. This was finally decided upon. At the instance of pastor Yaw, there was a few minutes of congregational prayer, the decision was taken.

The above decision was published in the Daily Graphic, the Ghanaian Times and Ashanti Pioneer of 20th October, 1960. The General Secretary sent a circular to all the assemblies announcing the appointment of a Ghanaian chairman.⁶³ After lengthy discussions, the Council decided that members of the Executive Council and the regional representatives sign the instrument appointing Pastor Anaman as Chairman.

Anaman's Response to the Appointment

He accepted the office and stated that he had already been doing the work attached to the office for some time now. He craved the co-operation of all his fellow ministers without which much cannot [could not] be achieved. He was not going to follow a different policy from the one already being followed - he asked all ministers to remember him in their daily prayers (Minutes,

⁶²Minutes, Emergency General Ministers' Council, 18th October, 1960. Personal collections.

⁶³Minutes, GMC March 1961 cf. Minutes, EGMC 1960. Private collections.

EGMC, Oct., 1960. Private collections).

From the foregoing, there is no evidence that Anaman's appointment was orchestrated by himself and some cliques. It was a decision taken by the council.

After this appointment some controversies evolved. The Elders in the Ashanti Region passed a resolution expressing their dissatisfaction with the appointment of a Ghanaian chairman. A copy of their resolution was sent to McKeown. This move happened to be 'the beginning of sorrows' for Anaman. He eventually stepped down from the chairmanship. When McKeown returned to the country in 1961, a Council meeting was held at Kade from 22nd to 29th March 1961. During this Council meeting, McKeown indicated his displeasure concerning what he saw as apparent irregularities surrounding the appointment of the Ghanaian chairman. The minutes has it that:

Pastor Yaw objected to the idea advanced by majority of the Elders and Ministers that all meetings of the Executive, Pastors and Elders Council meetings in respect of the creation of Pastor Anaman as Chairman was unconstitutional and thus null, void and useless.

Pastor Yaw does not seem to have been in the good books of McKeown. He was strongly reprimanded by McKeown for his views. McKeown is said to have declared that ... "Pastor Yaw's apostleship was circumstantial and that henceforth he is not to be known as an Apostle". After some protracted arguments, it was moved by Elder John Simmons and seconded by Elder Ntiamoah that

WHEREAS substantial evidence have been taken from several speakers concerning the appointment of African Chairman in the person of Pastor J.A.C. Anaman in the absence of Pastor James McKweon, founder and Chairman, as unconstitutional, unscriptural, irregular and not by guidance of the Holy Spirit, all minutes, circular letters and publications ...BE DECLARED NULL, VOID, AND ILLEGAL AND THAT THE PAGES OF THE CHURCH'S MINUTES BOOK WHEREIN SUCH MINUTES HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BE CLIPPED AND NEVER TO BE REFERRED TO IN THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH. THIS WAS UNANIMOUSLY ACCEPTED BY ALL 121 PRESENTERS REPRESENTING ALL ASSEMBLIES OF THE CHURCH WITHOUT DIVISION (Minutes, GMC March 1961. Private collections).

The controversy was carried into the second day of the meeting but before it could develop further, three prophecies were given.

Don't grieve the Holy Spirit. Bury all grievances so that the

Lord may heal all of you. The devil's mind in vain and the Lord's will in your hearts will soon be fulfilled (Pastor Quaye).

The Lord forgives all sins. From the chairman to the least member of the Council, ye must forgive one another that ye may live in peace (Pastor Phrimpong).

The lord has called you all into a royal family. I have shaken you to find your position. He who does not retreat will be great. Let truth and love work in you and let others come into My fold (Pastor T. Nyarko).

One other major decision that was taken during the Kade Council meeting was the formation of a new executive. It is recorded

That Apostles C.C.A. Hushie, G.A. Wood, Prophets J.C. Quaye, M.K. Yeboah and General Deacon J. Bart-Plange be on the Executive Board; Apostle Egyir Paintsil, General Secretary, to take minutes at meetings. FULL AUTHORITY IN THE CHURCH IS DEPOSITED WITH THE EXECUTIVE, for 12 months, after which the position will be reviewed. (Prophet D. M. Asante can replace any of the prophets when absent). The executive can choose their own Chairman at meetings. They can choose one amongst them to sign on their behalf all church documents, letters, cheques, etc. (They are to seek the perfect will of God in everything -not fearing men- and lead the Church thereby.

Pastor James McKeown, founder, wishes to remain with the Church as long as God wants him to, but will henceforth carry on in an advisory capacity. The Executive can call him in anytime to help.⁶⁴

Until this major controversy evolved all major decisions such as transfers, promotions, and appointments came through 'divine revelation'. There is no indication that this was the case during the Kade Council meeting.

Attempts to Transfer Anaman

Some of the very senior pastors of the church were transferred during the Kade Council. J.A.C. Anaman was transferred from Accra to Cape Coast, and A.K. Yaw was also transferred from Koforidua to Takoradi. Pastor G.A. Wood was sent to Accra to replace Anaman and J.C. Quaye to Koforidua to replace Pastor Yaw.

Before Anaman's short lived appointment as the substantive African chairman, he helped the church greatly during the controversies which ensued after McKeown's

⁶⁴Minutes, GMC March, 1961. Private collections.

secession from Bradford. He was the key figure leading the church in fighting the legal battles that followed the secession. During most of these legal wranglings, McKeown was out of the country and Anaman was the man in charge. In the process, he endeared himself to a lot of people. The action taken against him at the Kade Council was therefore not kindly received by all.

The elders in Accra were unhappy about these transfers. The 'Working Committee' which was formed in Accra after the exit of the Bombing Group, strongly opposed the transfers of Anaman and Yaw. A great unrest is said to have followed this. An all night prayer meeting was held at Merry Villas, (Accra Central), on July 8, 1961 in order to prayerfully settle the issue. At this prayer meeting a committee headed by Elder J. Simmons was appointed to find ways and means of restoring peace into the organisation. The Simmons Committee's recommended that J.A.C. Anaman's transfer be rescinded. He was to remain in Accra and also continue in his capacity as McKeown's assistant. The other transfers were upheld by the committee.⁶⁵

Attempts to Unite the Apostolics

After these controversies were apparently over, another centred on the need to reconcile the Apostolics showed up. Some people within the Ghana Apostolic Church (the one led by McKeown), felt the need to unite with the Apostolic Church, Bradford. A seven-man reconciliation committee was formed under the co-chairmanship of Messrs E.D. Ocansey of the Ghana Apostolic Church and J.R. Asiedu, the then Speaker of the National Assembly. This did not receive the support of the entire leadership of the Ghana Apostolic Church because some felt it was an attempt to unseat McKeown. The pro McKeown group apparently proposed that a merger with the Apostolic Church of Ghana would be considered only if the latter maintained its independence from Bradford. A delegation made up of J. R. Asiedu, Speaker of the National Assembly, Pastor F. Johnson, Chairman of the Apostolic Church of Ghana, and Mr Duncan Addo, were sent as delegates of the Apostolic Church of Ghana to a council meeting hosted by the Ghana Apostolic Church. Here

⁶⁵COP1, 8.

the delegation is said to have said that the Apostolic Church of Ghana could not stand alone without Bradford's support.⁶⁶

After several meetings at Koforidua on the issue of reconciliation, the matter yielded no fruitful results. It was therefore referred to the Government. The then Minister of Education, Mr Dowuona Hammond, on behalf of the government, appointed a committee on the 9th of December 1961 "To investigate the circumstances which led to schism in the Apostolic Church, with a view of reconciling the factions of the Church".

Before the findings of the Blay Commission were published, some elders from the Assemblies in Accra (Elders of Ghana Apostolic Church, Accra), namely, A. K. Abankwa, K. A. Addae, B.K. Assiamah, R.E. Crentsil, J.A. Quaye, D. Adawoo, E.F. Hammond), met at Adabraka on 19th of March, 1962 under the joint chairmanship of E.D. Ocansey and A.K. Abankwa and passed the following resolution:⁶⁷

1. Whereas, we Elders of Ghana Apostolic Church here assembled at the Adabraka Assembly Hall, Accra, this 19th day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, nine hundred and sixty two (1962), having been given full facts in respect of the underlying causes which led to the unfortunate secession from the Mother Church in 1953.
2. And whereas we are all aware of a request made by you, Pastor James McKeown at a convention held at Winneba in 1952, that prayers should be made for a revival, and as a result revival became evident by the arrival of Dr. Wyatt and his group from America, their meetings were successful and the Lord blessed us greatly. After you, Pastor McKeown had returned from leave, you made it known to the church that because of Dr Wyatt's visit to Ghana, then Gold Coast, the chairman of the Apostolic Church in Bradford had dismissed you from the church, but it has now become known to us that you rather tendered your resignation, and as such we Elders of the Ghana Apostolic Church in Accra found it proper to reconcile with the mother church (the Apostolic Church).
3. We do hereby further resolve, that, no money will be sent to the treasury till the reconciliation is made.

⁶⁶COP1, 8.

⁶⁷Source: Tenobi, 43-44 cf. Minutes, GMC April, 1962.

4. And that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the secretary of the Pastors' council, Pastor Anaman, Pastor Adotey, Brother Buabasah, Minister of education, Senior Administrative Officer, the District Commissioner and the Press.

Apparently copies of the above were sent also to all the apostles of the Ghana Apostolic church. For some reason, no action was taken either "individually or collectively to correct the wrong statements in the resolution, and to protect him [McKeown] whom they had brought here on invitation". The council rendered an unqualified apology to McKeown for the oversight when McKeown brought this to their notice. They also unanimously authorised the Secretary to respond to the foregoing resolution passed by the Accra elders.⁶⁸ E. Paintsil, the Secretary, responded to the Accra elders in strong worded terms.⁶⁹

Meanwhile some assemblies in Accra refused to send their tithes to the central treasury. Some insisted that McKeown and Anaman must settle their differences before this could happen; others demanded that the two apostolic churches should first be united.⁷⁰ A firm stand was taken against the Accra churches. Anaman was asked

⁶⁸Minutes, GMC April 1962.

⁶⁹I am in receipt of copy of your Resolution dated 19th March, 1962, and have presented same to the General Ministers' Council of Ghana Apostolic Church at its 12th Session at Manpong-Ashanti.

I am instructed by the Council-in-session to point out to you that Rev. James McKeown Chairman of the Church did not 'tender his resignation' to the Biennial Council of the Apostolic Church held in the City of Bradford, Yorks., England, in May, 1953, as alleged by you. There is no evidence that there was any letter of resignation from Rev. McKeown; he was dismissed.

I have also been instructed to ask you if you understand that the 12th and 13th lines of paragraph 2 of your resolution which read, 'we the elders of Ghana Apostolic Church, Accra found it proper to reconcile with the mother church (the Apostolic Church), constitute a notice of resignation from Ghana Apostolic Church?

Please treat this letter as URGENT and let hear from you within 14 days from date of receipt of same.

⁷⁰Minutes, GMC April 1962. Private collections.

to dissolve the 'Working Committee' which he said he had already done that according to the decision reached at the eleventh session of the Council (i.e., the Oda Council of November 1961). Subsequently, Anaman wrote to all the Accra churches to send their tithes to the general treasury.

Press Attacks on McKeown

During all these controversies the Ghanaian press, especially one anonymous writer in the *Evening News*, under the pseudonym 'Kweku Mensah' mounted an insidious attacks on the person of McKeown. The church at one time in frustration carried a front page article on 12th October, 1961 issue of the *Evening News*, "to curb the unwarranted campaign of attacks being perpetrated to get Chairman out of Ghana".⁷¹ The leadership of the church stood with McKeown during this period of press attacks. The General Secretary was instructed by the council to write to the McKeowns expressing the council's sympathy and regret for the attacks. The Secretary wrote a rejoinder to 'Kweku Mensah's articles. Copies were sent to the Ghanaian Times, the Daily Graphic, Ashanti Pioneer, the New Ashanti Times, and the Ghana News Agency.

McKeown's attitude to all the problems going on was that of determination to move forward:

Pastor James McKeown stated that as a father and real shepherd of the flock he would not leave whether there is peace or trouble. Unlike the hireling, he is prepared to stay with the flock through thick and thin. He would rather weather the storm than leave the country now for in his absence the troubles will get worse. ... He would like to see the Church headed by a Ghanaian Chairman but the present circumstances do not make this feasible. It may be a year, six months or six years that this may come about.⁷²

After this

Pastor Anaman ... said all the Apostles should join him in rendering a verbal apology to Pastor McKeown in that he should have been protected whilst press

⁷¹Minutes, GMC April, 1962. Private collections.

⁷²Ibid.

attacks were levelled against him, seeing we invited him to this country.⁷³

The Report of the Blay Committee

On 16th May 1962, the Ministry of Education published the report of the Blay Committee which did not seem to have presented a fair picture of the activities of McKeown. Among other things the committee recommended that in order to bring about unity:

1. Pastor McKeown should go back to the Missionary Committee in Bradford and reaffirm the articles of belief sanctioned by his church (i.e. reconcile with his church).
2. The Resolution which was passed in May, 1953 by some of the African Ministers and General Deacons severing [sic, serving] their connection with Bradford should be withdrawn;
3. All pastors who were called by prophecy after the secession should be recognised by Bradford;
4. All cases pending in court should be withdrawn; As soon as it can be arranged after the two churches have united, the Apostolic Church of Ghana should negotiate with Bradford for autonomy.

On the issue of property the committee recommended that the Ghana Apostolic Church "first and foremost, should return monies and properties of the original Apostolic Church of Ghana of which they are now dissociated".

The report stated further that:

... in accordance with the Freedom of Worship guaranteed in our Republican Constitution of Ghana, the Government does not prevent anybody from pursuing the form of worship according to his own taste or design but the Government definitely cannot tolerate exploitations in any form in our society or any attitude by any missionary or missionaries to [capitalise] on the ignorance of large illiterate following or personal gains.

Ghana Apostolic Church Appeals to Nkrumah

McKeown's church, unhappy with this decision, petitioned to the then Head of State, Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah. On 21 July 1962, Nkrumah gave a ruling in the matter and this was accepted by all the factions. He ruled that the two churches

⁷³Ibid., 1962.

should remain as separate and distinct entities, and that all properties acquired before 21 May 1953, the date of McKeown's secession, should go to the Apostolic Church of Ghana whereas properties acquired by the two churches after this date should remain with the respective churches. President Nkrumah also ruled that McKeown's church should adopt a new name. He further appointed the Sir Tsibu Darku Committee to oversee the property sharing issue.

The attitude of McKeown's followers on this memorable date--21st July 1962--was that of anxiety which finally culminated in excitement:

Representatives of the two factions were summoned to appear before the President, Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah. Pastor James McKeown and Pastor J. Egyir Paintsil, of blessed memory, stood for the Ghana Apostolic Church. Hundreds of church members who got hint of the happenings arrived early to pray in the precincts of Flagstaff House and to receive the verdict right from there. After some time Pastors McKeown and Paintsil emerged from the house beaming with smiles. The conclusion was obvious. However, to forestall noisy jubilation they did not show any signs of victory but requested the crowd to meet them at Kaneshie Chapel. You can guess the speed with which they got there. Some on foot, some on motor-bikes, some in private cars and what have you!⁷⁴

On 28th July 1962 at an Extraordinary Church Council held in Kaneshie, it was resolved that with effect of first day of August 1962, the Ghana Apostolic Church should be known and called as "THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST".⁷⁵

Anaman Joins the Bradford Apostolic Church

At the same meeting the council accepted the resignation of Pastor J.A.C. Anaman. Anaman left the Ghana Apostolic Church in 1962 (Wyllie wrongly dates this as 1960), and joined the Apostolic Church of Ghana, with Pastors Yaw, Adotey, Otchie, and Aboagye-Atta.

Anaman having stood with the McKeown's Apostolic Church during its controversies with Bradford now resigned to join the very organisation he had stood against. The role of Anaman in the development of that church has not yet found a place in the annals of the Church of Pentecost. Could this be an oversight, an error,

⁷⁴COP 1987, 24-25.

⁷⁵Ibid., 25.

or sheer neglect? Anaman seems to be portrayed in the records of the church of Pentecost as the unpardonable 'BETRAYER'. The annals claim that he and others worked for the deportation of McKeown so that he could be the African Head of the Church. Is this the whole story? Is this a fair assessment of the man who tirelessly steered the course of the organisation in her hour of travail? The Church of Pentecost would perhaps do well to remember the popular Akan adage which translates as "*The forest that has saved you cannot be called a mean forest, or cannot be despised*". For the Bradfords to welcome him readily into their bosom at all is a work of great magnanimity. Perhaps it also indicates the incredible talents of Anaman which the church felt would be of an asset to it. Such a charismatic figure could easily have led a secessionist group, but he chose to stay with the church amidst internal and external pressures to the contrary. He did this in order to preserve the unity of the church.

Peace Triumphs over Chaos

The Sir Tsibu Darku Committee began its work by appointing as its Secretary Mr S.S. Okunor, the State Attorney. From August 1962 to July 1970, the Committee is said to have achieved very little. Representatives of the two churches met several times at the Accra Academy to share some of the properties. The Busia Administration, in 1970, appointed another committee headed by Mr William Ofori Atta, to bring to completion the work of the Tsibu-Darku Committee. Since the Busia administration did not last for long, it could not oversee to the completion of the work of William Ofori-Atta's Committee. In July 1972, the representatives of the two churches met at Dunkwa-on-Offin to complete the distribution of the remaining properties.⁷⁶

Thus out of Anim's Faith Tabernacle Church evolved the Christ Apostolic Church, The Church of Pentecost, and the Apostolic Church. With these three churches joined by the Assemblies of God, the Ghana Pentecostal Council was formed. For these churches to put aside their past bitter wranglings in order to pursue a common goal, the goal of salvation, appears to be one of the greatest achievements of the Pentecostal Pioneers.

⁷⁶COP1, 10.

Growth Factors: External

Transfer Growth

Anim's followers from the Akroso, Saltpond and Winneba assemblies transferred their allegiance to McKeown's church. Anim's organisation had several churches scattered through out the southern parts of the country. Many of the members in these assemblies found it appealing to transfer to McKeown's church because of Anim's stand on the use of medicine. Anim's organisation's stand on medicine was very difficult to carry out. The use of any form of medication resulted in the excommunication of the culprit. The sick had to rely entirely on the prayers of the *healing prophets*. McKeown's organisation offered everything that Anim's church offered: the experience of glossolalia, divine healing, lively worship, close-knit fellowship and security against real or imagined forces. What is more, McKeown's organisation offered one more thing: the freedom to seek medical help as and when necessary. This seems to have been the major factor that compelled several of Anim's members to switch allegiance. In this, McKeown's church concurs when it states that:

One other important factor which aided the growth of the church and which should not be glossed over was the presence in many parts of the country of the former Faith Tabernacle Sect. Many of these transferred their allegiance to pastor McKeown's Apostolic Church. The reason is not far to seek. Many of the members in this church were looking for an opportunity to renounce the strict adherence to their non-medication doctrine and so when Pastor McKeown came preaching that medication was not stated in the Bible to be a sinful act, they were greatly relieved and flocked to him.⁷⁷

As early as 1938, Anim himself saw that some of his converts would follow McKeown because of the rigorist views of the church's on medication.⁷⁸

Another group of Christians who joined McKeown's Apostolic Church were members of the 'historic' churches. Almost all the early leaders were former members of the historic churches. The members of these churches had been exposed to the Bible in one way or the other and so were familiar with the biblical world and the idea of the miraculous. Their Christian experience had exposed them to the miracles

⁷⁷COP 1987, 12.

⁷⁸Anim, 11.

of Jesus, though these miracles had not been part of the practice of the Christian tradition they had been exposed to.

When the Apostolics therefore came on the scene, demonstrating the power of Jesus, something the members of the historic churches had heard about with nostalgic feelings, there was a mass and swift response.⁷⁹ The failure of the historic churches to meet the deeper spiritual needs of their followers was a major factor causing these Christians to join the Apostolics. We have indicated elsewhere that the major reason why Mrs Obo joined McKeown's church was the reality of the Holy Spirit which McKeown demonstrated.

Internal Factors

At the human level, we may attribute the internal factors of the growth of the church in its early years to men and women who committed themselves to the propagation of the gospel. Prudence Anaman, Mrs Obo and countless scores of women and men who committed themselves and their resources to the work, have pride of place in the annals of the organisation.⁸⁰

The early evangelists of the church, R.O. Hayford and E.K. Okanta, the Witness Movement, the Bombing Group, and the Women's Movement were the agencies that largely contributed to the growth of the emerging church.

The Witness Movement

The Witness Movement began as the Young People's Movement in the early 1940s.⁸¹ At its inception membership was limited to those between the age group 16-

⁷⁹Many would find it easier joining McKeown's church than that of Anim because of the latter's views on healing.

⁸⁰Some ministers worked for the church for years without pay before they were later placed on the church's pay roll. For example, Rev Alfonso Wood who was ordained as a pastor in 1950, served as an unpaid Overseer for two years.

⁸¹Leonard indicates that Hammond, a missionary of the UK Apostolic Church, was the founder of the movement. This is highly unlikely since Hammond arrived in the country in 1948 when the movement had been in operation for some time. What is clear from the official documents of the church is that by 1950 he had been appointed the General Leader of the Movement.

25. Addotey was its first leader of the movement. The two main aims of the movement were: to mobilise and train the youth for evangelism, and to prepare them for various positions of leadership in the church.⁸² By about 1950 interest in the movement had increased tremendously primarily because of its evangelistic ethos. It therefore became necessary to waive the prescribed age limit.⁸³

The Bombing Group

Out the Witness Movement emerged the 'Bombing Group'. This movement was formed primarily to mobilise the youth in the church for evangelism. The Bombing Group was listed by Acquah in his 1958 'Accra Survey' as one of the church related groups which had mid-week activities in Accra.⁸⁴ Most of the Assemblies in Accra were started by this dynamic group. Jonny Mallet, one of the early leaders, traces the origins of the movement to 1945. Its formation is traced to Diaba, Addotey, and Mallet himself. These three young men gathered the young men for prayer after the end of the normal church services. Their ultimate aim was the evangelisation of the country.⁸⁵ Soon these leaders realised that many young people had joined the church so they were organised for prayers and fasting. It is understood that the group never moved until there was a clear directive prophecy.⁸⁶

The group evangelised Merry Villas, Usher Fort, Manprobi, Korle Gonno,

⁸²Interview with Elder J. Mallet, 2.9.93.

⁸³The movement had a badge with the inscription 'God First'. Continued possession of a badge was dependent on one's commitment to the ideals of the movement, which included practical holy living and evangelistic zeal. Failure to live up to these ideals, especially the required moral code, could result in the withdrawal of one's badge, though this badge might have been paid for by the defaulting owner.

⁸⁴Ione Acquah 1958. *Accra Survey*. Accra: GUP, 147.

⁸⁵The group took its name from the bombing raids carried out by the allied forces during World War II. Their spiritual exercises are thought to have had similar devastating effects on the Devil and his agents. Diaba was assigned to evangelise Adabraka whereas Mallet was assigned to the Accra central.

⁸⁶Paintsil was the secretary of the group and it is said that most of the prophecies came through him.

Teshie and Tema. They then proceeded to evangelise Big Ada and Ada Foa, then to Akuse, Somanya, Manfe, Aburi Nsawam, Achimota and Amasaman. It is believed a prophecy came to the effect that the members of the group would become the leaders of the church, and indeed this was fulfilled. Diaba was first called into the pastorate then followed by Addotey, Paintsil, Sackey, and Hushie. Other members of the group also received their call not long after. All the above officers except Jonny Mallet were posted to stations outside of Accra. A prophecy came to the effect that he should be stationed in Accra to take care of the group. As a result, he became its leader in 1950. The evangelistic campaigns of the group are said to have been intensified in spite of the transfers. In 1950 the group's first woman, Miss Victoria Owuo, daughter of Pastor C.S.T. Owuo (founder of Apostolic Reformed Church), joined the group. She later became Mrs Victoria Vanderpuije.⁸⁷

Women's Movement

There was no such organised women's movement until about 1945.⁸⁸ In spite of this, from the beginning of the church, women played a prominent role in the development of the church. They organised prayer and Bible study meetings. Evangelistic outreaches also became a dominant feature of the ladies from the very inception of the church. Lessons in various vocations like sewing, cookery, and house keeping were learnt. These activities were initiated by the women themselves.⁸⁹

⁸⁷Interview with J. Mallet, 2.9.93. The evangelistic influence of the Bombing group waned in the ensuing years. The remnants of the group, constituted themselves into a 'Steering Committee' with the sole responsibility of seeing that decisions taken by the church were implemented. It appears this committee became more militant and was considered as a reactionary force by the leadership. By 1962 it had been officially banned.

⁸⁸This was when T. Adam McKeown, the brother of James McKeown officially formed what is now referred to as "Women's Movement" in the church.

⁸⁹It is not clear how long the training in vocational activities lasted. What is clear is that whatever vocational training programme was available to the women, it soon gave way to various spiritual exercises of the church. The women are well known in their organisation of prayer meetings, evangelistic campaigns, conventions than in any other thing.

Other Factors

McKeown and his team of Ghanaian workers had a good insight into the sense of corporate solidarity of the village folk. It is said that whenever McKeown and his team went to a village or a small town to preach, they would first meet with the chiefs and discuss their mission with them. The chiefs will then arrange a meeting where all the village folks would be summoned to attend. McKeown would then preach through interpreters and pray for them. This method proved to be very successful.

McKeown had only one thing to give to the people - "Jesus Christ and Him crucified", and this was what he motivated his disciples to follow. McKeown himself was poor and he depended mostly upon the hospitality of the people for his work. He had no inhibitions. At one particular time after travelling a long distance by train, and then by lift on a lorry, before doing the final six miles on foot, he arrived at his destination. When the time came for him to preach, he could not use his own clothes since they had become dirty. The men in the village gave him a cloth, and with this, McKeown was able to execute his mission.⁹⁰

From the beginning the people were made to feel responsible for the work. They gave freely to the cause of the church. A majority of the people identified very easily with him, so they did not find it difficult to respond to his teachings on giving. The people were made to feel that the work belonged to the Lord and was not McKeown's. Tithing was practised from the very beginning of the organisation. He taught the people to tithe their incomes, but he never considered it necessary to keep records of those who paid their tithes and those who did not, a system that is followed up to the present day.⁹¹

Effects of Signs and Wonders

We have indicated elsewhere that between 1930s and 1940s cults like Kankamnea, Brakune, Kwaku Fri, Aberewa, and Tigari flourished in the country. It

⁹⁰Leonard, 81.

⁹¹The main source of income of the Church has been the tithes and offerings of the members. This has been the case up to the present time.

was fashionable for whole families to join them to secure some kind of security or protection against one's enemies. Tigari became more popular than all the rest. Several Tigari shrines were opened through out the country. The Tigari shrine in Accra was named 'Apenkwa', a Twi word which literally translates as 'life seeking' or 'salvation seeking'. In other words, the Tigare cult at Apenkwa offered 'salvation'. It was at the same period that the Apostolics emerged offering a message of 'salvation'. God confirmed their message with signs and wonders. As the gospel spread, the Tigari priests/esses and their followers were converted. We select few of the *signs and wonders* that were performed for mentioning here.⁹²

A young man called Atiayao of Kpedze in the Volta Region, a day after receiving the experience of glossolalia ('baptism in the Holy Spirit'), travelled to Dahomey and preached the gospel in a town called Deve. The inhabitants of the town who were mostly followers of the local cult, reported Atiayao to the chief and his elders. He was warned that if he did not stop preaching he would be killed by the fetishes in the town, but Atiayao was adamant insisting that Jesus was more powerful than the local fetishes. The chief, who was blind then, threw a challenge to Atiayao asking him whether that Jesus was able to heal his blind eyes. The young man answered in the affirmative. The chief vowed that if he regained his sight he would allow all his idols which were in three rooms to be burnt and would join the Apostolics, but if Atiayao failed to make this happen he would lose his head. Atiayao accepted the challenge. Everybody present was asked to shout thus: "Jesus, let the chief receive his eyesight". They joined him in prayer repeating the same words. Then suddenly, the chief exclaimed " I have received my sight!" The chief, breaking all protocol, jumped from his stool and with shouts of joy took to the streets announcing his healing. The brother of the chief destroyed all the fetish groves and idols. While the groves were being destroyed, a woman by name of Agbana, who had been paralysed for some five years was brought to Atiayao for prayer. She was also healed. Several people joined the church as a result of these miracles.

Mercy Agyapoma lived in a village near Akim Oda. Mercy is said to have died

⁹²More information on this could also be found in Tenobi's booklet, *The Apostolic Church* 1985, pages 14 to 20.

at the Oda hospital. One sister by name Mame Dede asked the family of Mercy not to bury her until a five day prayer for her resuscitation was over. The family bought the coffin and the shroud required for the burial but Mame Dede and her followers would not allow the burial to take place claiming she would come back to life. The bereaved family in frustration left the corpse in the hands of the church, but contrary to the sceptical expectations of Mercy's family, she was resuscitated on the fifth day. Mercy testified of her experience during a convention at Asamankese. She exhibited the shroud with which she was clothed for burial.

Abisim, a village near Nankese in the now Eastern Region, was the centre of some miraculous healings by Pastor Okanta. Among the healings that took place were the following: He prayed for one lady called Hebeno who suffered from some strange skin disease which caused putrid sores all over her body. Medical help proved helpless. After Pastor Okanta had prayed for her it is said that some black ants came out of her skin. She fully recovered from her ailment soon after. Pastor Okanta is also said to have prayed for a cripple called Joshua, and he was immediately healed. The mother of the late Apostle Walker was healed of insanity through prayer offered by one Brother Isaac Mensah of Abisim. At Dawu (Akwapim), a woman who used to strip herself nude threatened to kill Brother Mensah when he arrived in her house. Brother Mensah raised his hands in prayer for her in the name of Jesus. Immediately she threw away her cutlass and knelt before Mensah. She is said to have fully recovered after the prayer. Many barren women became mothers. For example, Sister Florence Asiedu, the wife of the late J.R. Asiedu, the speaker of the national assembly in the First Republic, testified at a Koforidua convention carrying her baby. She testified that during a prayer meeting, she heard a small voice telling her that she would conceive and give birth to a boy whom she should name Jonathan. It is said that after Jonathan she had five more children.

At Jumapo (Eastern Region), the late B.D. Addae of Adukrom, overheard somebody praying in a language believed to be Greek. We are not told the form of Greek this was: Classical, Koine or Modern Greek. Mr Addae, who had some knowledge of Greek, was highly amazed to hear an illiterate speaking Greek fluently praising God. This is said to have led to his immediate conversion.

Pastor R. O. Hayford, the leading evangelist of the church in its formative

years, had a powerful ministry of signs and wonders. He died in 1949 just when the movement was growing. Before his death the ripples of his ministry were evident in many parts of the country.

Both men and women, laity and clergy were used in this encounter against evil and disease. The young preachers as they took the message of the cross around would encounter some very serious challenges, and often would go on the offensive, and in all these cases Jesus proved the victor. Some of these encounters are also enumerated by Leonard, adding that it was because of the clash of the two kingdoms that McKeown's church found the gifts, fruits and ministry gifts of the Holy Spirit vital.⁹³

The spirituality of the Apostolic Church's first fifteen years (1938-1953) has been described thus:

For the next fifteen years the Apostolic Church grew and spread steadily throughout the Gold Coast. Souls from all tribes and all walks of life came to the Church singing, dancing, clapping their hands with joy and praising God. They came to drink from the stream of life (Is. 55:1) which was flowing from the throne of God (Ps. 46:4) winding its course through Bradford to the Church in the Gold Coast. Spiritual baptism, spiritual revelation, spiritual healing were some of the beacons on their way. The Spirit of God, prophecy, and the Lord Jesus were their guides, and the Word of God their food. *Their songs were never composed by any man; they were given to them by the Spirit of the Living God whilst they were praying, tarrying, worshipping.* Their musical instruments are not the usual piano or church organ, but the tambourine, the guitar, the cello, the clarinet, the drum, the trumpet, and all other things on which they can lay hands. Many indeed were the people who came to drink.⁹⁴

In spite of the success of McKeown's organisation, there was one particular problem that continued to worry it: the issue of independent prophetic healing and deliverance ministers of the Church. Brother Lawson, a gifted member of McKeown's church, started a healing and deliverance ministry in 1954. Lawson saw great success in his healing activities. He later indicated to McKeown that God had revealed to him the need to set up "healing posts" in the country to heal the sick. Meanwhile, Lawson, through what he believed to be the revelation of God, was blessing water for the sick, and was also distributing blessed handkerchiefs to the sick. These apparently were

⁹³Leonard, 97-100.

⁹⁴COP 1, 2. Italics mine.

producing very effective results. Controversy developed within the leadership of COP on the nature of ministry of Lawson. He eventually decided to operate as an independent body.⁹⁵ Similar factors led to the secession of Pastor C.S.T. Owuo,⁹⁶ and Prophet John Mensah.⁹⁷ All these men separated from McKeown's organisation around 1958. This kind of phenomenon seemed to have been kept under tight control and scrutiny, however, later evidence indicates the phenomenon became uncontrollable, and it has now become an integral part of the various ministries with the Church.

Up to this period of the development of the organisation, there was no official magazine of the church. The main reason for this lack seems to be the fact that those in the forefront of the running of the organisation, did not see it as a need. Perhaps the leadership did not just have the human resources to bring this to fruition. The birth of an official magazine of the church became possible through the establishment of the **African Pentecostal Evangelistic Association**, by some dedicated men from the laity.

The African Pentecostal Evangelistic Association (APEA)

Some individuals within the church, including Mr Adofo Marih and A.K. Asem, felt the need to propagate the gospel through the media. This dream became a reality when, on 6th March 1965, the first issue of the ***Pentecost Fire*** was launched. Mr Adofo Marih, the main brain behind the paper, was the first editor.⁹⁸ E.K. Asem⁹⁹ later joined the group.¹⁰⁰ APEA had as its manifesto the use of

⁹⁵See chapter 9 for a fuller discussion of the activities of Lawson.

⁹⁶His ministry led to the formation of the Apostolic Reform Church.

⁹⁷Prophet John formed the Church of Christ, Spiritual.

⁹⁸The magazine was met with operational difficulties particularly in the area of finances. Elder A.K. Asem intervened to save the magazine and also brought in the idea of the formation of the **African Pentecostal Evangelism Association (APEA)**.

⁹⁹E.K. Asem has worked with the Ghana Commercial Bank's Public Relations Department for several years. He is now the head of GCB's Public Relations Department.

The pulpit, the radio, television and the press to bring people of all races to Jesus Christ our Lord for eternal life. It will also develop men's faith and steadfastness in Jesus Christ and to make believers look upon *courage, success and happiness* as Christian heritage.¹⁰¹

Due to the constraints of finances, APEA's activity for the first five years of its existence was limited to the publication of *The Pentecost Fire*, which became "the mouth piece of the Church of Pentecost" and the medium for the propagation of the gospel including the pentecostal dogma of baptism in the Holy Spirit. The first General Secretary of the Church, speaking at the third anniversary of the magazine had this to say:

... This paper has been a great avenue through which men and women of all walks of life in Ghana and abroad have been reached with the word of God. It stands for the whole Bible and especially doctrines of the New Testament for which any full gospel church stands. It is a mighty arm of the evangelical wing of the church. ... One picks [up] a copy of the *Pentecost Fire*, one immediately feels the warmth of the fire of the Holy Spirit breathing through its pages. *It ... points the way of salvation through faith in Christ Jesus. The baptism of the Holy Ghost for believers is brought home to its readers.*¹⁰²

Between 1965 and February 1970, the paper was published in cyclostyled form only due to lack of finances. APEA received enough financial support from the Church Council and some church members in April 1969 and was therefore able to publish its first printed version of *The Pentecost Fire* in February 1970.¹⁰³ APEA started airing its religious broadcast *The Pentecost Hour* in 1972.¹⁰⁴ This brought the activities of APEA to two: the production of *The Pentecost Fire* magazine, and the production of the Pentecost Hour Broadcasts.

¹⁰⁰ The Rev Apau-Asante gave spiritual guidance to the APEA team (*Pentecost Fire*, Oct. 1965, 1 cf. *Pentecost Fire*, Feb 1971).

¹⁰¹ Ibid. Italics are mine.

¹⁰² J Egyir-Paintsil, *Pentecost Fire*, 1968 vol 3, no. 35, 2. My own emphasis.

¹⁰³ 5000 copies were printed (Church Council Minutes, March 1970).

¹⁰⁴ The Pentecost Hour came on the air for the first time on Monday 4th December, 1972. It started as a fortnightly English programme. It later became weekly broadcasts: English on Mondays, followed by Akan, Ewe, and Ga broadcasts on Tuesdays, in that order.

In spite of the material, human, and logistic problems APEA faced during its formative years, the Chairman, A.K. Asem, kept the vision going. Elder Jonny Mallet and A.K. Asem continued to keep the radio programme alive. The voluntary singers mostly came from the Osu Assembly, where Jonny Mallet was an elder. The chief speakers of the radio broadcast were Pastors James McKeown, J. Egyir-Paintsil, Thomas Nyarko, E.K. Parker, Sister Eunice Addison, Elders E.K. Asem and A.K. Asem.¹⁰⁵

The radio programme had a wide audience. It was always preceded by the anthem of the programme:

*The fire is burning in my soul
The fire is burning in my soul
The flame of glory makes us whole
Hallelujah, it's burning in my soul.*¹⁰⁶

Listeners to the programme included some of the leaders of the main line churches as well as some intellectuals. The radio programme was among the few religious broadcasts in the country then and the public showed great interest. In the course of time, Pastor L.A. Nyarko was appointed as the first radio pastor. In March 1975, for greater effectiveness, the church absorbed APEA.¹⁰⁷

The radio programme and the magazine made a great contribution to the development of the movement. We read that:

We are encouraged by letters received from listeners to our various programmes and the readers of the Pentecost Fire. Last year, [i.e. 1979], we had as many as 5,000 letters. Most of the writers have accepted Christ; others have found peace in their hitherto broken marriages; school children have seen changes in their lives. Between January and June 1980, we have dealt with 5000 letters. A number of the writers are real seekers for the truth. The Pentecost Fire has been acclaimed in high circles as one of the best Christian Magazines on the

¹⁰⁵1974 *Pentecost Fire and Hour* report, in Dec. 1974 COP annual report, 29.

¹⁰⁶At the moment the writer does not have information on the originator of this song.

¹⁰⁷Council Minutes, March 1975.

market that provide spiritual food. We hope to keep up this strategy. We are aware that only the best is good enough for the Church of Pentecost and for that matter, the Ghana Pentecostal Fellowship.¹⁰⁸

Leonard mentions that in 1980 alone, the Radio Pastor's office received about 8000 letters from the public, and that at least one congregation was established as a result of the radio broadcasts.¹⁰⁹ The *Pentecost Fire* had a wide circulation outside the precincts of COP.¹¹⁰

Statistics: Growth Figures to 1970

In the first quarter of 1970 the Church of Pentecost had 12 local apostles, three local prophets, forty-seven local pastors, forty-eight overseers, and nine general deacons.¹¹¹

The following is a chart of the number of assemblies, total membership, districts and their regional distribution as at March, 1970.

Regions	Assemblies	Membership	Districts
GAR Accra	67	5336	8
Ashanti	161	6991	14
Brong Ahafo	?	3427	11
Central	164	6980	15
Denkyira	85	2477	4

¹⁰⁸*Pentecost Hour* 8th Anniversary Celebration report, 5th July, 1980.

¹⁰⁹Leonard, 156. Rawlings' military government banned all sponsored religious programmes from the air when he overthrew the civilian government in 1981. The *Pentecost Hour* in consequence, went off the air.

¹¹⁰In 1972 the editor reported that "The *Pentecost Fire* is in great demand. The 5000 copies which we print are distributed mostly to outsiders and the members of the Church are crying for copies"(APEA's yearly report contained in COP Council Minutes, March 1972, 15.

¹¹¹Minutes, Church Council, March 1970.

Eastern A	121	4969	12
Eastern B	120	5484	11
Eastern C	77	5143	7
North. & Up	?	1738	4
Volta	69	2028	9
Western	113	4493	11
	977*	49066	106
EXTERNAL			
Liberia	5	230	3
Togo-Dahomey	?	6227	22
Upper Volta	4	53	1
Ivory Coast	9	190	3
	18*	6700	29
Grand Totals	995	55766	135

(Source: Minutes, Church Council March, 1970. Membership figures given exclude children). * Figures exclude those of B.A., Northern, and Upper Regions as well as that of Togo-Dahomey. The figures for these regions are not available from the official sources.

As at this date apart from the McKeowns, there were also three western missionaries including G.L.W. Ladlow and his wife, who were missionaries of the UK Elim Pentecostal Church.

After the 1953 secession, some western missionaries came in to assist, some for a very brief period others for a longer time. It is not clear as to the extent of their involvement with the organisation. Some of them were financially supported by Dr Wyatt's Latter Rain Movement. Charles Berridge and Millford Grisham joined the organisation somewhere between April 1955 and September 1955. Up till April 1962 Berridge's name still appeared in the books of the organisation. He was later joined by his wife. Grisham seems to have been associated with the organisation on a part-time basis for a very brief period. Sydney Scholes was introduced by McKeown to

the church council in April 1956.¹¹² Other missionaries we come across are Henri Archimi¹¹³ and Stephen Westfall and his wife who are mentioned as missionaries from USA associated with the organisation.¹¹⁴ On 1st October 1964 the Westfalls arrived in Lome to assist in the work.¹¹⁵ John Wenergreen arrived in 1959.¹¹⁶ Others joined later.¹¹⁷

Association With Foreign Bodies

At the beginning the finances of the church were very precarious. Dr Wyatt's organisation provided support to certain western missionaries. T. L. Osborne's organisations from time to time sent in some money to assist some specific native evangelist working in certain remote areas as missionaries. Osborne's film, "The Ghanaian" which was shown in Togo in the 1960s drew crowds. His support of native evangelists also contributed to the development. Osborne at one time sent

¹¹²He was introduced as a visiting missionary from Bradford, Yorks, on his way to Dahomey. It seems his mission to Dahomey might have been cancelled or proved unsuccessful. He and his wife apparently stayed with the organisation up till September 1960. At one point in time he contemplated setting up an independent Bible school to train Christian workers from various denominations. This intention did not seem to have materialised. He left the organisation in September, 1960 with the intention of going to Cameroon.

¹¹³October 1958 to Nov. 1959.

¹¹⁴March 1959 to April 1968.

¹¹⁵Westfall had no church affiliation in the USA. he was supported by some individuals and independent churches based in USA.

¹¹⁶Wenergreen is said to have had some experience in industrial training. The council decided that he and his wife were to go to Kade (Eastern Region) to establish Vocational school and a Bible training centre. Evidently this never materialised.

¹¹⁷These were: Rev. Lucas, Brother Matthew Hannah (1966), Miss Small (1967); Paul Stern and wife; J B. Stallwood and wife (March 1970). Miss Else Ebbestad, a nurse, arrived in the country in 1967. She was in charge of the Mobile Clinic which was in operation in Benin. When she returned from furlough in 1970 she came with two other nurses to assist her. These ladies also started "The French Bible Correspondence Course" which attracted a lot of students from the West African sub-region (Council Minutes, April 1974, 9. Private collections).

consignments of his book *Healing in His Wings* to the church.¹¹⁸ In March 1961 the executive decided to transfer the funds under the "Assisted Scheme" (financial support from America) into the Central Fund. From this time all local missionaries were paid from the central fund.

COP and Elim Alliance

Since the split of McKeown's organisation from the parent body, the UK Apostolic Church, it had felt the desire to belong to the world-wide church.¹¹⁹ During the 1969 General Easter Convention at Koforidua, this desire was brought to the fore when Pastor David Mills of the UK Elim Church was asked to speak to the congregation. He later attended the council meeting. We note from official sources that Pastor

David Mills of the Elim Pentecostal Church at Koforidua was admitted to Council in view of his interest in the Church and also as a result of his wonderful experience [i.e., the impact of what he experienced at the convention] during our General Convention. He was later allowed to speak to Council and teach some Bible Lessons and songs.¹²⁰

David and Margaret Mills first arrived in Ghana on 28th September 1966 as Elim missionaries. The couple worked in Koforidua, the Eastern Region of Ghana, for about three years without much progress.¹²¹

By the beginning of 1971, the affiliation process had reached its final stages. The matter was taken up at the March 1971 Church Council meeting in which we are told that after a lengthy discussions it was unanimously agreed that the COP should

¹¹⁸This was translated into Twi by Rev Daniel Wilson Kwesi Adu, and 15000 copies were printed. Proceeds from the sale was either to be put in a Literature Fund or utilised to purchase a printing machine for the church.

¹¹⁹Leonard, 154.

¹²⁰General Council Meetings, April 1969, 2.

¹²¹Leonard puts the ministry of David and Margaret Mills, before the affiliation in this light: "The Mills had 200 people and a lot of heartache to show for three years hard work and seriously questioned what they were doing in the country." (Leonard, 154). The Rev R.L. Currie, Mills' successor, indicated to me in 1991 that when David Mills realised that there were already several pentecostal churches at Koforidua, he considered his church planting efforts waste of resources.

affiliate with the Elim Pentecostal Church.¹²²

Through this bold step, Elim has made a great contribution to the development of the movement in Ghana. The ministerial training programme, which Mills initiated, became the foundation upon which the Bible training programme of COP was built.¹²³ Apart from the invaluable contribution Elim's missionaries have made to the Bible School, there are other areas that Elim has also helped. The Rev G.L.W. Ladlow and his wife, Margaret, joined the Mills in 1969. He became the Radio Pastor for three years and later helped in shaping the COP radio ministry, the "Pentecost Hour". The wife spoke on the English programme.¹²⁴

Elim in 1975 donated one Offset Printing Machine to meet the increasing printing needs of COP. In March 1972, it donated a Hillman Hunter car, through Leslie Wigglesworth, the Missionary Secretary, for the use of the Church Secretary.¹²⁵

In line with the COP tradition which requires every minister to be involved in a local church, the Elim missionaries have also been involved the local church. The Rev David Mills, whose Ghanaian name was Kwame Asante, originally had his home at Kwadaso, near Kumasi, in the Ashanti Region. In addition to his activities at the training centre, he was also in charge of the Kwadaso District of the Church.¹²⁶ He

¹²²Council Minutes, March 1971, 24ff.

¹²³The Bible School, has since its inception, been headed by missionaries from Elim. The first principal was David Mills. He was succeeded by Rev R.L Currie in 1984. Currie was succeeded by Rev John Waller in 1993. Though Elim has never insisted on this kind of arrangement, somehow COP, as a matter of precedence, has faithfully kept that tradition.

¹²⁴From the records of the *Pentecost Fire*, re: 8th Anniversary celebration, date not available.

¹²⁵Church Council Minutes, March 1972, 5. The activities of the COP in those days, were fraught with transportation difficulties. The Church Secretary, Rev Paintsil, in spite of his onerous responsibilities, did not have an official means of transport up to 1971.

¹²⁶The total membership within this district is not immediately available to the present writer. Leonard indicates that in his time the district grew from 62 members to 6000 (Leonard, 156). The 62 members here should be understood in terms of the members who started this new district created for David Mills.

was also assigned with the responsibility of preparing a revised syllabus for the Witness movement, which he did.¹²⁷ Mrs Margaret Mills was also involved in the children's movement as well as the women's movement.¹²⁸ She was made the deputy General Leader of the Children's movement. In that capacity she prepared syllabus for the movement and also organised their distribution. She, in consultation with the then General Leader Rev C.E. Apau-Asante, organised various training programmes for regional, district, and local leaders of the Children's Movement. She travelled extensively through out the country in pursuance of this. She also used her influence to secure some materials for the Children's Movement.¹²⁹ The COP-Elim fellowship brought a very fruitful ministry to the Mills. In recognition of their devoted service to the church, a mammoth farewell service was held in their honour on the 13th October 1985 at the Accra Academy School grounds.

Through the Elim connection, Norman Barnes' UK Link International was born,¹³⁰ which has since supported the Church in various ways. For example, it made a major contribution in setting up the mechanical training workshop of COP. Links and Elim have also contributed drugs, tractors, printing machines and printing materials to the various establishments of COP.¹³¹ Through these organisations, some of the pastors of COP have obtained further overseas ministerial training.¹³²

The COP-Elim alliance has brought in great benefits for both organisations.

¹²⁷Church Council Minutes, March 1972, 12. The original one was compiled by Pastor Walker.

¹²⁸We read from official sources that "Sunday Schools [i.e., children's Sunday Schools] have been opened in many assemblies" and that "Mrs Margaret Mills is greatly helping the Sunday School work. Council Minutes, March 1972, 12.

¹²⁹We read from official sources that the Elim Youth Movement, made a donation of £300 to the Children's movement "with which Mrs Mills bought Teaching Aids and Materials for the advancement of the work. We are equally grateful for the copyright privileges given to Mrs Mills to use any of their [literation, *sic*] (literature) to our advantage" (Council Minutes, March 1972, 12).

¹³⁰Leonard, 157.

¹³¹David Mills now works with Norman Banks' Links International.

¹³²Interview with Ato Addison, (General Secretary, 1988-1993), on 8.7.93. This information corroborates what is found in various minutes of the church council.

Within the context of a bigger and well established church, Elim's ministry in the country has had a more profound impact than it would have probably been. In 1988 the COP sent Rev Kwame Blankson to the UK to work with Elim.¹³³

THE NEW GENERATION AND COP SPIRITUALITY

Pentecost Students and Associates (PENSA)

Generally, the Church of Pentecost up till this period was a grass roots movement. Most of its leaders and followers were largely from the lower level of the social strata of society. This is not to discount the fact that among the masses were some few highly educated and influential members of the society who had come to its fold mainly because of some concrete help, like healing, they had obtained through the mediation of the church. The movement as a whole was basically effective in reaching one group of people--the illiterate segments of the society. The impact on the higher institutions of learning up to this time was to say the least, very minimal.

Without despising the dedication, commitment, and achievement of the early leaders, it is not an overstatement to indicate that their previous educational background did not prepare them for the elites of society. The educational attainment of the early leaders ranged from Middle School Leaving Certificate to technical and vocational education qualifications at the very basic level. GCE O'Level holders and certificated professional teachers were exceptionally few.¹³⁴ It is therefore no exaggeration to state that the impact the church made upon the higher echelon of the

¹³³His task was primarily to bring into fellowship the members of COP who live in Britain. The fellowship eventually became known as PAUKE (Pentecost Association of the United Kingdom and Eire). Blankson, in addition to his responsibilities as the Pastor in charge of PAUKE, was also made an Associate Pastor of the Elim congregation in Ilford from 1988-1992. As a result of the growth of PAUKE membership (it now has 6 assemblies and about 700 members). It has been granted an autonomy by Elim to operate as an independent church since 1993, under the "Elim Alliance" arrangement. Thus Blankson no more serves as an associate pastor at Ilford. PAUKE now operates under the name, Elim Church of Pentecost Incorporated (ECI). Under the present arrangements, ECI pays ten percent (10%) of its tithes to the Elim Pentecostal Church (Interview with Kwame Blankson on 10.8.94.).

¹³⁴Personal records of the pastors available at the Records of Office of COP, give evidence to this fact.

society was minimal. This therefore created a social vacuum in the church, especially among the emerging younger generation who were being exposed to one form of higher education or the other, the children of the leaders and members of the church not excepted. Since this group of new elites was in the minority, it took some time before their needs were recognised. The problem is acutely described as follows:

As more sons and daughters of the Church acquired higher education, two situations developed. In the first situation members came to the realisation that their own church was not ready to receive and integrate them into the very church which had nurtured them from childhood. Although they loved their church and the spiritual warmth which it offered, they were compelled by circumstances in which they found themselves to drift to other fellowships where they would gain acceptance. The second situation ...[is that] some members of the church who had also acquired higher education often fell to new life styles, drifting away from the scriptural standards which hitherto held them actively in the church. A third but more serious ...[problem was that] teenagers who had just passed through the Sunday School system of the church into secondary schools were for the first time confronted with the realities of the freedom of being away from home and out of the usual supervision of parents. All the attractive vices of the youth are suddenly open to them to experiment with as alternatives to what they had been used to at home or taught in Sunday School.¹³⁵

To meet the needs of these pentecostal students, within the context of the official environment, some of the pastors began to gather some students for discussions and encouragement. It is believed that as early as 1969, the late pastor J.C. Quaye, started meeting the COP students within the Kumasi area. The late Pastor A.T. Nartey, took steps in the same direction, when in 1974, he started meetings with the students at the University of Cape Coast.¹³⁶

In 1976, some students at the University of Ghana, Legon, took the initiative to form the **Legon Pentecostal Union**.¹³⁷ The Legon Union embraced students from other churches belonging to the GPC. This Union, being the first of its kind in all the

¹³⁵PENSA 1990, 7-8.

¹³⁶Ibid, 8.

¹³⁷The pioneering work is said to have been undertaken by Asiedu Asamoah, Larry Otu Nyarko, Anthony Donkor, Earnest Acheampong, David Collison, Juliet Mantey and Emmanuel Kyei (PENSA 93, page 5).

institutions of higher learning in the country, is said to have been so successful that the idea of expanding it to all the other universities and institutions was conceived.¹³⁸ In 1978, a similar move was made by the COP students at the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, which they called, Pentecost Students Association. This one, unlike its Legon counterpart, was mainly for the students of COP.

The idea to establish chapters of the students union in the various COP assemblies to oversee to the needs of students was conceived in 1978 by J.S. Gyimah, Peter Kyei, and J.A. Larkai.¹³⁹ These young men discussed their vision with the then Church Secretary, Rev J. Egyir-Paintsil, who readily appreciated the need and therefore took the matter up with the Accra presbytery. The Presbytery accepted the idea and agreed to finance the first delegates meeting. To provide a more mature guidance to these enthusiastic young students, the presbytery saw it fit to appoint a member of the presbytery to handle the finances and at the same time provide the necessary guidance. Elder J.E.K. Antiri, an educationist, was the man delegated to take up this responsibility.

A delegates meeting was convened at Accra Academy on 21st to 23rd August 1979, under the chairmanship of Antiri. At this meeting, it was decided to adopt the name Pentecost Students and Associates (PENSA) for the body. An Interim National Committee was appointed to plan an inaugural conference for 1980. On 23rd August 1980, a General Conference was held at Prempeh College, Kuamsi, which was attended by about 800 delegates. The PENSA constitution was promulgated and PENSA was formally inaugurated on 23rd August, 1980, by the Church Secretary, Apostle J. Egyir-Paintsil.¹⁴⁰

The vision of PENSA was to encourage true discipleship and responsible church membership of those scholars of the church who, by dint of their education, could not find room in the programmes and activities of the church.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸PENSA 1990, 9.

¹³⁹PENSA 90, 9.

¹⁴⁰Ibid, 9,10.

¹⁴¹Ibid, 12.

The PENSA honeymoon was short-lived. Barely a year after its formation, its leadership ran into some serious difficulties. A cross section of the pastors, elders, and the Witness Movement leadership, became suspicious of the motives of the leadership. It was felt that, if PENSA was allowed to operate, the young university elites would use their education to outwit the leadership in certain matters.¹⁴² In the ensuing misunderstanding, some of the members of PENSA lost interest in the whole PENSA idea and left, never to return again! Writing in retrospect after ten years of the existence of PENSA, the national executive lamented that

Ten years is a long time enough for a movement like PENSA enjoying all the support and goodwill of the Church Executive to have spread her tentacles firmly over all the institutions of the country. We regret to say that, this has not always been so. The first ten years has been spent at survival.¹⁴³

What has aided the movement is that it has always had majority of the members of the executive behind it.

Because of the evangelistic consciousness of the church, though PENSA was formed to solve an internal discipleship problem, its focus has become evangelistic rather than discipleship. Within the ten year period of its existence, apart from the chapters at the three universities¹⁴⁴, centres had been established in several schools and colleges. It has also been able to organise literacy training programmes for some of the church members who are now able to read the Bible. Its members also contribute devotional articles to the *Pentecost Fire*, the official magazine of the church. Several students and associates who would otherwise be lost to the church have remained as vital members of the church through the activities of PENSA.¹⁴⁵

There was no pentecostal fellowship in any of the institutions of higher learning up to about 1976. This pioneering work of PENSA has now given rise to a rather unsavoury phenomenon where almost all the pentecostal and neo-pentecostal

¹⁴²Ibid, 10.

¹⁴³PENSA, 10.

¹⁴⁴The third one is that of the University College of Cape Coast, which was inaugurated on 8th July, 1989 by the then Church Secretary, R. Ato Addison.

¹⁴⁵Ibid, 12.

churches have separate fellowships at the various institutions of learning, especially the universities.

The hallmark of PENSA's activities is its regional and national conferences.¹⁴⁶ One interesting factor in these conferences was that the speakers and seminar leaders were selected from a broad spectrum of the evangelical Christian body, pentecostals and non-pentecostals. Writing after ten years of the establishment of PENSA, the national executive could still identify an unfulfilled vision:

Hundreds of church members who qualify as PENSA members are still leaving the church to other ministries. Some of the one-man ministries are virtually fed by Church of Pentecost youth. The problems leading to this are to be fully addressed.¹⁴⁷

Whether or not this vision is fully fulfilled in future will be largely dependent upon the continuity of PENSA as a distinct body. PENSA however, on the recommendations of a *Restructuring Committee* appointed by the executive on 12th December 1989, ceased to exist as a separate and distinct body, as from September 1991. The Witness Movement and PENSA were merged to form the Pentecost Youth Evangelistic Movement (PENTYEM) in order "to avoid duplication of functions, and their concomitant costs, to reduce undue pressure on local assemblies".¹⁴⁸

According to the new arrangement, the composition of the executive of PENTYEM has no student representative. There are four pastors and five elders who form the executive. These are appointed by the Executive Council. Officers of PENTYEM include the Patron, the Youth Director, and the Regional/Area Leader.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶The following national conferences have been held over the years.

1980 Prempeh College, Kumasi (Inaugural Meeting)
 1982 Ghana Secondary School.
 1985 Wesley College, Kumasi. **Theme:** *Come, Go and Tell*
 1987 UST, Kumasi. **Theme:** *The Holy Spirit and You*
 1990 Aburi Girls S.S. **Theme:** *The Unchanging God*
 1993 University of Ghana. **Theme:** *In These Times*

¹⁴⁷PENSA 1990, 10.

¹⁴⁸Restructuring Committee Report, 14.

¹⁴⁹The Patron is the chairman of the movement, and he is to be an Apostle, Prophet or Regional/Area Head. The present patron is Rev L.A. Nyarko. The Youth Director is a pastor, who is the full time officer in charge of the day to day activities

Most of the members of PENZA the writer interviewed expressed their dissatisfaction about the new arrangement. From all indications, however, whatever be the shortcomings of the report of the Restructuring Committee, the report itself was born out of a genuine concern to achieve efficiency and effectiveness. At the University, College, and Secondary School levels, the movement is as vibrant as ever. The establishment of chapters in the schools and colleges is still in the ascendancy.

After some lobbying, it was considered necessary to have separate secretariat to coordinate the various student activities. Legon was thus chosen as the permanent secretariat. The new name for this quasi organisation is Inter-Tertiary Institutions PENZA (ITI PENZA).¹⁵⁰

Tradition Versus Modernity

There is a large segment of the society who seem to be comfortable with the ethos (life-style), liturgy (mode of worship), the programmes, and the media of communication here, even though they may wish certain things were improved or are changed completely.¹⁵¹ The situation with the predominantly younger, literate segment of the society, with high taste for the western value system, is different. Many people in this group do not find aspects of the ethos, liturgy, and the media of communication of COP and similar churches attractive. They are more attracted to the neo-pentecostal churches, mainly because of their characteristic life style.

The COP, unlike the other pentecostal churches, began to explore ways and

of the Movement. The Rev Peter Ayerakwa, a graduate, is the present Director. He plans programmes for evangelism in schools, colleges, and universities, and in the cities. The Regional Head is expected to be a pastor with an elder as his assistant.

¹⁵⁰ It has a National Coordinator, a Secretary, and three other members. This new arrangement is for students only and it operates under the PENTYEM executive. This arrangement is in line with the hierarchical structure of COP which is basically meant to ensure effective control from the "Top" while at the same time, within the framework of a delegated authority, those at the "Bottom", can also exercise their own powers.

¹⁵¹Rev Opoku Onyinah expressed similar sentiments in his address referred to below.

means of addressing this need. This led to the creation of three of what is now designated as "**English Assemblies**", in the mid 1980s. It was intended that these assemblies would be a

Well organised, cross-cultural church for people of non-Ghanaian cultural background who want a place to worship God, as well as for our Ghanaian brothers and sisters who for one reason or the other, prefer and indeed feel free to worship in the English language.¹⁵²

Two such congregations were established in Accra and one in Kumasi, but as one might expect, the transition was not smooth. Long-established traditions do not change easily. Within a year or two of the existence of these model churches, it was discovered that the **English Assemblies** were "in content and even outlook, functioning just as any other local assembly of the Church of Pentecost, the only difference being the use of English as the lingua franca."¹⁵³

To address the situation, the then Greater Accra Regional Apostle, Patrick Asiamah, in consultation with the executive, issued a circular of 29th April, 1993 announcing the merger of all the English Assemblies in Accra. This subsequently gave birth to the ACCRA INTERNATIONAL WORSHIP CENTRE (AIWC).

The formation of AIWC was the brain child of Apostle Opoku Onyinah, the International Missions Director. He is the Resident Pastor, with the Rev John Waller, the Principal of the Bible School, as the Associate Pastor. In his capacity as the International Missions Director, he travels extensively. Because of his exposure, he seems very flexible when it comes to issues relating to the ethos of the church. He believes

God is a God of infinite variety.... That as Ghana and especially Accra becomes increasingly more cosmopolitan, the Church has a duty to reach out with the Gospel in a way that people of different nationalities, traditions, and cultures are comfortable with.¹⁵⁴

Some of the church's hierarchy and the membership are yet to come to terms

¹⁵²Rev Opoku Onyinah, COP International Missions Director, address given to the presbyters of the English Assemblies, on 4th August 1992, 1.

¹⁵³Ibid.

¹⁵⁴Purpose Statement of AIWC

with what they regard as the erosion of the teachings of the church. The Church of Pentecost seems to have been avowedly rigorist in ethos. It is expected that all women from the age of puberty onwards should, without fail, wear head-kerchief at church service. If perchance a stranger enters the meeting with her head uncovered, she is swiftly met with the embarrassing situation of being escorted outside by a deaconess who will immediately provide her with a head covering for that purpose.¹⁵⁵ Women are not to wear trousers (slacks). To wear a lipstick is seen by many as a sign of moral laxity. At church service women and men do not mix.

At AIWC, there is no hard and fast rule. The different sexes mix in the congregation. When it comes to dress code, legalism gives way to moderation and sanctified common sense. In the study and teaching of the Bible, the leadership, particularly Opoku Onyinah makes use of the discipline of lower criticism. Biblical literalism therefore gives way to a more serious study of the Bible.

A few months after the establishment of AIWC, tension was already building up at certain quarters. Not everybody in this congregation was happy about the way modernism was taking its toll on the cherished traditions of the church. The AIWC leadership therefore had to organise a symposium to discuss some of the critical issues.¹⁵⁶ One of the critical issues that came up at the symposium was how the members of AIWC could integrate with the larger body of COP membership. The answer that was suggested was that AIWC members should not bow to the tastes of the traditionalists, rather, the latter should be taken along by the wind of change. That is, the women should influence the traditionalists instead of the other way round.¹⁵⁷

The AIWC idea is one of the most radical changes that the church has ever gone through. Pastor Opoku Onyinah's idea is innovative but not everybody is in

¹⁵⁵Ato Addison, the 1988-93 General Secretary believes with regard to head covering, the previous practice was not properly handled (Interview 8.7.93).

¹⁵⁶Interestingly the first major discussion the AIWC Men's Fellowship had after this symposium was on "Women and Head Covering".

¹⁵⁷ This point was made during a symposium organised by AIWC in September 1993 to discuss aspects of the ethos of the church. Some of the speakers were Peter Ayerakwa, PENTYEM Director, Nobel Atsu, lecturer at Bible School, John Waller, Principal of Bible School, and Opoku Onyinah, the Resident Pastor, and ... Addison, the wife of the 1988-93 GS.

favour of it. Some look at it as hypocritical, claiming that it is the gospel that brings conversion, not cultural adaptation.¹⁵⁸ The main concern of Pastor Onyinah goes beyond the realm of ethics--approving or disapproving of the contemporary ethos of a segment of the society. His concerns are evangelistic: how to effectively reach out to this segment of society with the gospel. He writes:

The dynamics of civilization and the increased interaction of the peoples of the world through education, travel and commerce have all combined to making culture a transferable commodity. Therefore this new generation being a product of today's civilization, *do not always 'conform' to known and traditional ways of doing things. Whether they are right or wrong is not the issue at stake here. To us what is expected of us is to reach them in their own world with the same, old, unchanging word of God which is still the power of God unto salvation.*¹⁵⁹

What is important to Opoku Onyinah is how to make the gospel relevant to contemporary man, without sacrificing the core claims of historic Christianity.¹⁶⁰

Conclusion

In spite of the fact that COP was founded through the missionary activities of the Revd. James McKeown, the church has fully developed as an indigenous, independent evangelical pentecostal church, pursuing salvation from two fronts, as it is best understood within the Ghanaian environment. This success story appears to have been possible because McKeown, in his capacity as the human founder of the movement, trusted in the abilities of the local people. From the very beginnings of the organisation, his followers were made to assume full responsibility in the

¹⁵⁸Rev Kwame Blankson, the UK representative of COP represents this position. He believes since it is the word of God that brings conversion, there is no need to adapt to contemporary needs of society in order to be able to reach them.

¹⁵⁹Opoku Onyinah, Address to Presbyters, 1992, 1. My own emphasis.

¹⁶⁰Whether this experiment of bringing salvation to all is going to succeed or not will depend largely upon Opoku Onyinah. The problem, however, is that by virtue of his position as the International Missions Director, he spends most of his time away from the church. The growth and development of that congregation may therefore be in a balance unless this need is addressed. At best it may grow numerically without necessarily reaching that segment of society for whose purpose AIWC was established, with the message of salvation.

development of the church.

McKeown's major contribution in the development of the church was his ability in providing leadership, defining the priorities of the church in terms of evangelism; his personal integrity, and his uncompromising stand against sin, laziness, and misappropriation of funds. These principles helped to place the organisation on a sound footing morally, financially, and in terms of its evangelistic ethos.

His role as a leader was that of a facilitator. The actual growth of the church has become possible as a result of the evangelistic efforts of his followers: old and young; literates and illiterates; rich and poor; men and women. The hierarchical form of government being followed by the church was adopted through a consensus by the local leadership and McKeown. This is in consonance with traditional patterns of leadership.

Though one may not be able to accurately predict the overall influence the modernisers are going to have on the organisation as a whole, and whether the traditionalists will be willing to remain quiet or not as their long shared traditions are eroded by modernity, it may be difficult to say. One fact that seems to be certain is that the shared values (holiness, prayer, evangelistic zeal, love among "brothers and sisters") that bind both leadership and members of the organisation together are so strong that, it appears, the wind of trivialities will find it difficult to blow them apart.

CHAPTER SIX

THE LIFE AND FAITH OF THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST

Introduction

Though the church of Pentecost (COP) owes its origins to the missionary activities of James McKeown, from its inception, it was made to be related to the Ghanaian soil, without losing its rooting in Christ and the Bible. Its contemporary and compelling relevance is recognisable in its ethos, beliefs, and worship. The first Ghanaian Chairman of the church did not lose sight of the independence and indigeneity of church when he stated that:

The Church of Pentecost (until 1962, the Ghana Apostolic Church), is an indigenous Church. Since 1953, and with the break of the Bradford connection, the Church of Pentecost has governed her own affairs without any interference from any outside authority. The leadership of the church being Irish (up to 1982) and the fact that occasionally missionaries from the UK worked with us does not negate the assertion that the Church of Pentecost has always managed her affairs from within Ghana. Perhaps we achieved this feat because we have always relied on internal resources to keep the church going. This independence in financial matters has meant that the Church is able to do things in the indigenous African way. Had we relied on foreign missionaries for the planting of churches, as many as 3000 local assemblies would not have been opened throughout the country. It has been the African believer upon whose shoulders the responsibility for spreading the gospel message, and consequently establishing churches, has fallen. To all those gallant men and women, who laid down their lives for the establishment of the Church, gratitude is expressed.¹

The factors which are characteristic of the Church of Pentecost (COP) are its rigorist ethos, especially as related to male-female relationship; the dress code of its female adults; its regular prayer meetings; its numerous congregations; its crusades and mammoth conventions; and its inspirational songs.

Perhaps of all these, prayer may be said to be the most significant distinguishing mark of the church. On this the Rev Egyir-Paintsil, the first General Secretary of Church, affirms: "Methodism was born in song", says the Methodist

¹Apostle F.S. Safo. *History of the Church of Pentecost*, 1987, Foreword. The figure now stands at 3,617 (GEC *National Church Survey* 1993, 18).

Hymn Book, but Church of Pentecost has been born in prayer".²

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES OF COP

The church's **ethos**, **doctrine**, and **worship** could be best ascertained from their songs, practices, and to a lesser extent some writings by some of the leaders and members, since unlike Anim's organisation, COP is yet to systematise most of its beliefs into writing. It is not clear why this has been the case. Perhaps the main reason may be due to McKeown's own attitude to such things. At one time McKeown felt constitutions were irrelevant. The organisation later had to modify its views in this when the need for legal purposes became crucial. The preface to the first constitution of church clearly state the official position thus:

From time to time, the need for a written Constitution has been keenly felt. The church Council did not rush to write an elaborate Constitution, in view of the fact that whereas written constitutions are good for secular organisations, constitutions rigidly applied tend to stifle the operation of the Holy Spirit in the Church. The Church being the Body of Christ is a "spiritual organism" which must rely more on the Word of God and the Holy Spirit than on Constitutions which are subject to amendments from time to time.

Since this statement was made a "second edition", a "revised edition", and a "third edition" of The church's official constitution have been published in 1984, 1986 and 1988.

Ethos

The organisation's rigorist code of morality in the area of sexuality, avoidance of alcohol and tobacco, the necessity of tithing, its dogmatic stance on "head covering" by its female adults, participation in group activities like fasting, evangelism, prayer meetings, fellowship within the community, and "giving the church a good name before the world"³, proceed from its theological self-understanding: The perception of itself as God's holy church/nation, called into being,

²*The Church of Pentecost*, n.d., preface.

³Turner 1968, 26.

to fulfil God's redemptive plan for humanity.⁴ One of their old songs expresses this motif:

Ōman, man, ōman krōnkrōn; (2)
Yehowa Ne man bōn renntsena mu:
Ōman krōnkrōn nye yi.
M'asem nye yi dε hom ndzi mu. (2x)⁵

Translation

Nation, nation, holy nation
 Jehovah's nation, sin shall not dwell within it:
 This is a holy nation.
 My word is that you must be whole [i.e., moral uprightness]

Evangelism, Prayer, and Discipline, which are claimed to be the bedrock that have led to the rapid growth and development of the church, are all perceived and

⁴The church's subscription to what appears to be the general evangelical pentecostal code of conduct, is based on what the movement regards as **obedience to Scripture** (or submission to the Divine will) rather than anything else. Though like Anim's organisation, moral codes prevalent in traditional societies may have largely contributed in forming the personality of believers here, there is no evidence that the rigorist morality as practised by the Church is derived from the traditional codes of conduct.

⁵COP 1963. *Christian Choruses*, 137, s.n. 551. This song originates with Mrs Eunice Addison. The spirituality of the songs should be understood from the following perspective:

Their songs were never composed by any man; they were given to them by the Spirit of the Living God whilst they were praying, tarrying, worshipping (COP 1,).

This particular song came in a form of what is normally considered by the church as a **prophecy**. It appears to have been delivered in the context of congregational prayers or "tarrying" that followed a teaching session. According to Mrs Addison, the word "Nation" as given in the original song, was later replaced by "*Asōre*", (Church) on the instructions of Rev Egyir-Paintsil. According to her, Paintsil was of the conviction that since God was addressing His *Church*, this change was necessary as it makes the message clearer to every one. It appears, however, that if the *Ōman* is understood in the context of 1 Pet. 2:9: "*But you are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, His own special people*", the *Ōman* in the original wording still makes sense. At present, however, the song is sung in the two forms simultaneously. In this case, the "Church" seems to be seen as God's *Ōman*.

experienced in the context of the church's self-understanding as God's holy nation or holy people.

The Evangelistic Consciousness of COP

The evangelistic motif of the church is spelt out by the first General Secretary of the church thus: "Whenever God wanted to reveal Himself and His eternal purposes or plan of redemption to mankind, He chose agencies or agents through which or by whom the revelation was made"; that after the failure of Israel to carry out the purpose of God, Jesus came "to redeem mankind and to build up His Church which would be the agent in evangelism". The purpose of the Church (the mystical body of Christ) is the "evangelisation of men by invading the realm of evil powers which have ever held men in bondage. The Lord's intention has been, and still is, and shall always be, that the Church (made up of born again Christians) should be the agent through or by which the world will be evangelised".⁶

The evangelistic message is that of reconciliation with God, and abundant life for today, and eternal life for tomorrow. Jesus, the "saviour of all men" does not only save from sin, He also provides fulfilment, protection, and healing. Paintsil writes:

Will you not ... turn from your sins, your failures and unfaithfulness to your fellow men to accept the Lord Jesus Christ the Saviour of all men? He will make you a new creature and give you a new nature. You will experience the full impact of the faithfulness of God in your life. God hath said,

⁶Rev J. Egyir-Paintsil. The Church as God's Agent in Evangelism in *The Word* (Week-Ending 7th - 14th December, 1974): 5. (*The Word* was an independent ecumenical "religious weekly designed to serve Prayer Groups, Spiritual Organisations, and other Church members". This paper, published by IDA Services, was started in the 1970s and carried articles by international evangelists like Billy Graham.

For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the Lord that hath mercy on thee (Isaiah 54:10).

He says to your fearful heart:

Fear not: for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by name; thou art Mine.

When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee: and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned (Isaiah 43:1 and 2).

Those who have surrendered themselves to the Lord and have accepted Jesus Christ as their Saviour have an usual protection from the powers of darkness. Will you turn to the Lord now and accept Him as your Saviour?⁷

The church draws a sharp distinction between evangelism and social welfare.

Though the two are not mutually exclusive, it is taught that the two are not one and the same. Paintsil again indicates that:

It must be admitted that the Church has not always been faithful in the work of evangelisation. Much of the Church's time, energy and resources have been spent in social and other services. But this does not mean that the Church is no more God's agent in evangelism. Whenever a section (a denomination) of the Church gets stuck in formalism and social service, thus losing the vision of evangelism, the Lord raises up a band of men to carry on the work of true evangelism.⁸

The sharp distinction between evangelism and social service has since been modified. By 1980 the social conscientisation process of the church had begun. Apart from the American Assemblies of God,⁹ the COP like other pentecostals, appears to

⁷J. Egyir Paintsil *The Word* (Week-Ending, 1st - 8th November, 1974), 7.

⁸Ibid.

⁹We alluded to the social programmes of the Assemblies of God in chapter two. The Christ Apostolic Church from an early period had a strong desire to build primary and secondary schools. At some time an Economic Development Committee was also formed to explore and implement ways and means of enhancing the economic well-being of the members. It must however be indicated that all these initiatives of the CAC in this direction, had as their aim, the meeting of the needs of the church and the members. For example, the proposed CAC schools, were to prepare the children of the members of the church in order for them to be able to

have operated from the premise that, the propagation of the Gospel was the main mandate of the church. Their early message was "Jesus and Him Crucified".¹⁰ It was thought that "born again citizens" would be responsible citizens, and therefore the church's task in this direction was its major contribution to the nation, as the following seems to suggest:

... Any one who makes a serious and substantial understanding to the New Testament renders a *public service*, for if religion is a foundation of morality, then the knowledge of God is the welfare of the people.¹¹

The church has now come to realise that the preaching of the gospel is not incompatible with social responsibility. The two are therefore not mutually exclusive. Walker is reported to have stated this new perspective thus:

... The gospel of Jesus Christ carries a moral, spiritual and social content. ... Jesus did not only preach the good news but also fed the needy and healed the sick in the society, ... churches have a moral obligation to serve society.¹²

The church now has mobile clinics, primary and secondary schools, animal production, crop and oil plantation farms.¹³ Foundational to the evangelistic ethos of

effectively continue with the work of CAC.

¹⁰Pastor James McKeown referring to the evangelistic strategy of the his church, testifies ... "No medical mission but Jesus and Him crucified". This is contained in a documentary video captioned *Missionary Encounter: Mr and Mrs James McKeown of Ghana*. Interviewed by Norman Christie on 24 11 76. This video may be found at the Audio-Visual Department, COP head office, Labadi, Accra.

¹¹Apostle F. D. Walker, *Pentecost Fire*, issue 87 1988, 10. Emphasis are mine.

¹²This statement was made by Apostle F.D. Walker, during the ceremony of the formal adoption of the Officers' Ward of the 37 Military Hospital on 3rd March 1988. This was after an extensive rehabilitation work of the Ward by the church (*Pentecost Fire* 1988, issue 86, 20).

¹³Whether or not this new attitude to the church's social responsibility has come about as a result of the church's fresh understanding of scripture or some other external factors have contributed to it is not very clear. It is believed that during the 1979 military take over by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) led by J.J. Rawlings, certain churches came under intense pressure. This pressure from the military regime was not because of any corrupt practices, as was the case with certain

the church is the belief that the church can be an effective agent of God in evangelism only when "The whole Church (all its membership, clergy and laity) [are] mobilised in the work of evangelism".¹⁴

Ecclesiastical unity is not evangelism, neither is doctrinal unity.

Neither must one think that taking courses on evangelism, writing or reading papers on the whys and wherefores, the dos and don'ts of evangelism will do the trick. We do not despise these means but we must say, it takes new life to produce new life in others. ... what is needed is for every member of the Church to be born again, indwelt by the nature of Christ and have a personal experience of the baptism in the Holy Spirit.¹⁵

The whole church sees itself as a missionary force. Because of this, every member to a greater or lesser extent sees her/himself as a missionary, whether at the local scene or in foreign lands, whether at the market place or the office. It is expected that a member who travels to another location where COP does not exist, would first and foremost think of starting one there. This is done first by living out the gospel as is expected of a member of the church, and secondly to begin to propagate the gospel as a missionary of the church, with the aim of establishing a local congregation.

This philosophy of mission is based on two main theological perspectives. Firstly, based on some past prophecies, reinforced by recent ones, it is strongly held that God has told them that He would give the whole nation of Ghana to them, and that God has also promised to take them to various places of the world.¹⁶ Secondly,

secular agencies, rather, it was felt certain churches were not contributing to the material development of the nation inspite of their material wealth. It was during this period (1979) that the COP set up the Pentecost Social Welfare Association (PENTWAS). This was later reorganised and commissioned on 2nd June 1983 under the new name of Pentecost Social Services (PENTSOS) (Pentecost Fire, Issue 74, Oct. Nov., Dec., 1983.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶There have been several of such prophecies. The following examples are illustrative:

the church believes it has a unique identity. It was, until recently, strongly held by the leadership and the membership that the teachings and doctrines of the church were

1. All present are to draw nearer to God. He can work with the greatest as well as the least. The youth and the women are to be encouraged to use the gifts in them. Many in this council now will soon be sent to far-off lands to work on a large scale (This prophecy was given in 1954 by the present chairman of the Church, Prophet M.K. Yeboah. Prophet Yeboah was then an overseer. (Council Minutes, Sept. 1954)

2. Ye are the Lord's fellow-labourers, where there is no cross there is no crown. The land of Africa has been called "the Dark Continent" but the day has dawned and it is now time that the Lord will work with you in this great land. Those from America [this refers to the coming of Dr Wyatt and his group in 1953) have simply come to enlighten you, but you are to continue the great emancipation work. Ye are to do the works the Lord did. Let all deliberations be done concisely. *All the world looks to you to emancipate her. I will send many of you to far off lands. There may be greater persecution, but I will be with you* (Given by M K Yeboah. Emphasis are mine. Source: Council Minutes, April 1954).

The third evidence comes from one of such prophecies given through Rev E. Achim Gyimah in 1992:

I once gave you a command to make all nations my disciples. You thought of it as something far off but now it is your turn. I have weighed and apportioned the various nations unto you so that, you will go out in my power and take them captive for my glory. ...It is not material possessions that I am giving out to you as your booty but the precious souls that I have given to you in the various nations, these I command you to take captive through the gospel and bring them to myself.

I am equipping you as mighty soldiers being prepared for battle so that wherever your feet shall touch it is I who have touched and whenever you open your mouth it is I the Lord who have opened my mouth and I will stretch forth my hand to do miracles; and wonders shall be accomplished and the farther ends of this earth shall hear my name. Therefore my people and my nation that I called unto myself, receive my power, receive my very likeness, receive my glory so that wherever you will go people will see that it is I, the Lord who have called you and I am working together with you. Thus says the Lord of Hosts (From the Reports of the first all Ministers' Prayer Meeting, April, 1992, pages 29-30).

quite unique.¹⁷ Statements like "You are different from others" or "Our teachings are different" are heard from the lips of some of the leaders and members quite often.¹⁸

The foregoing perspectives underpin the mission ethos of the leadership and membership of the church. Almost all the churches that have been planted at home or abroad have come about as a result of the initiative of some of the church members who have travelled there. The general pattern has been this: A prayer meeting by a family or friends soon becomes a fellowship as members reach out to witness to others. The attendance soon increases and a request is made to the head office asking for a pastoral help. This request is followed by a visit by the church leadership. The leadership appoint some members from the group and are ordained as leaders. A pastor is eventually sent to lead the group and help to develop the work. Soon, more congregations are planted.

The criteria for the promotion or otherwise of the church leaders are basically the statistics submitted to the head office. Reports to the head office are given in terms of: the number of converts baptised, the number of children dedicated, number of new churches planted, evangelistic crusades held, and tithes and offerings sent to the head office.¹⁹

Through this process, with perhaps some few exceptions, the Church of Pentecost now has thirteen external branches: Benin, Togo, Ivory Coast, Liberia,

¹⁷One can still see an evidence of this as late as 1990. The Rev Ato Addison (G.S. 1988-1993) expressed these sentiments during a speech he gave at the Accra District **PENSA** meeting, held at Merry Villas, Accra. Though Ato Addison, and perhaps many of the leaders may not fully subscribe to this view any more, some of the members and pastors may still hold this belief. It is not clear how the teachings and doctrines as practised by the church differ from what are found among the other pentecostals. It must however be admitted that when it comes to prayer meetings, emphasis on church discipline, and evangelistic zeal, the other pentecostals and evangelicals may have a lot to learn from them.

¹⁸From the prophecy of Apostle Patrick Asiamah, Extra-ordinary Council Minutes, April, 1992, 37.

¹⁹A low performance on these figures could seriously undermine the prospects of a particular minister. At times the local difficulties ministers face are not always critically considered by their leadership. In this case some ministers unduly suffer from leadership expectations due to factors that appear to be beyond their control.

Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Transkei, Germany, Belgium, France, Holland, and Israel.²⁰

The idea of creating a separate missions department is of a recent origin²¹ even though the need was recognised by Apostle F.S. Safo as early as in 1966 when he recommended that:

In order to facilitate the smooth running of the work on Mission Fields in general, the Apostle requests Council to set up a Missionary Board which will initiate policy, deal with confidential and psychological aspects of Missionary Work.²²

To meet the ever-increasing demands of the Missions Department, an International Missions Director was appointed in 1991.²³

Discipline

The official position is that disciplinary measures may be taken against

²⁰ We have a sketch of the historical account of the origins and development of the churches in Togo, Benin, and Ivory Coast in the appendix. Brief information on the other external churches may be found in COP book *Know Your Mission Areas*, 1992. Statistical data on all the external churches as at December, 1992 is found in the 1992 annual report of the Church. Personal collections.

²¹The Missions office was created in 1990. The office was then manned by Overseer K Agbavito (Translator/ Interpreter), and Mrs Rianon Sessi as bilingual secretary.

²²General Council Minutes, March 1967, 7. The functions of the mission board was apparently carried out by the Chairman of the Church. It was not until April 1991 that we read of the existence of a missions office.

²³Restructuring Committee's Report, 1991, 22 cf. COP Chairman's address contained in the Minutes of Extra-ordinary Council Meeting, April 1992, 31. An administrator, Pastor Gyesi Addo has also been appointed for the office for the same purpose. The department, in June 1992 published a booklet: *Know Your Mission Areas*. The first edition of the department's newsletter, *Missions News* was also published in May 1992. The second edition came out in December 1992.

The kind of evangelistic zeal that prevails in Ghana seems to be evident in the external assemblies too. As at December 1992 the Adult membership of the external churches stood at 27,790 and that of children stood at 10690. A total of 312 rallies and crusades were held and 115 new assemblies were opened in 1992 (1992 Yearly Report, 277).

members of the church who

Make a practice of going to questionable places
 Fall into open sin
 Embrace or spreads false doctrine
 Desecrate the Lord's Day (Sunday)
 Divorce wife or husband; marry more than one wife or husband.²⁴

Sexual offenses and dishonesty are the sins that are regularly highlighted in the church. These offenses carry immediate dismissal in the case of ministers, and demotion to the level of ordinary members in the case of lay leaders.²⁵ In the past some ministers have had to be dismissed for what was considered as "gross misconduct". This includes

Misappropriation of Church funds, fornication, adultery, drunkenness, erroneous teaching of Church doctrine, disrespectful behaviour which affects unity and progress within the church, gross insubordination, non-cooperation with fellow ministers.²⁶

Originally any person so dismissed or demoted may, over a period of time, after showing fruits of penitence, become a leader again. The church considers itself as a corporate unity in covenant with and in the service of the Lord. It is believed individual sins do not just affect the offender but it could also bring God's judgement upon the church as a whole.²⁷ The Church of Jesus Christ, it is taught, must remain pure in order to: elicit continued divine favour, to avoid the wrath of God, and to be ready for the *parousia*. One of the commonest songs of the church spells out the message thus:

*It is a glorious church,
 Without spot or wrinkle,
 Washed in the blood of the Lamb.
 It is a glorious church,
 Without spot or wrinkle,
 Washed in the blood of the Lamb.*

²⁴Constitution 1986, 20.

²⁵Information on dismissals of ministers and some key lay leaders are communicated to all the churches.

²⁶COP Pastors' Workshop, n.d., 16.

²⁷The common biblical support of this is the sin of Achan (Joshua 7).

A leader or a member who becomes a victim of such misconduct can never become a leader within the church again.²⁸

In the past, to maintain undivided commitment and loyalty to the organisation, there was strict control on the external involvement of its ministers. For example they could not attend conferences (international or local) on their own initiative; they could not embark on further training without expressed approval from the executive, which was in any case difficult to obtain.²⁹ Though some outsiders believe that tendencies to moral laxity are creeping into the church, the leadership does not think this is the case.³⁰

The Practice of Prayer

Unlike the CAC, where the constitution has a lot to say on the how, where, when, and why of prayer, COP has nothing of that sort. "They just pray". Everything within the church necessarily begins and ends with several minutes of prayer. "Mass prayer" is practised by the church because it is believed the first century church

²⁸It appears in some of the rural areas some leniency is shown. Young offenders who genuinely show fruits of repentance are allowed to function again by the senior and more mature lay leaders. Here, it appears the traditional code of reparation seems to be at work rather than the church's code.

²⁹Because of the prestige in associating with a large and a prosperous church, and the reputation and respect ministers command within the church, few ministers were willing to sacrifice this for personal misdemeanours. The organisation's stringent controls over its ministers and membership have now been modified. One of the first things the 1988-1993 General Secretary of the church did when he assumed office was issued a circular encouraging members to associate with other religious groups. Now, with proper arrangements, one can attend any conference that he chooses. One can also avail himself of any training opportunity that would enhance his performance. These changes seem to have taken place primarily because the leadership have come to realise the urgent need for training and exposure. One or two key leaders within the church have also in the past shown resentment to what they see as "the inward looking" attitude of the church. This "internal rebellion" might also have contributed towards this liberalisation.

³⁰Because of the size of the church now and the number of converts that are joining it almost every day, there seems to be an element of truth in this criticism. Perhaps with the recent introduction of **home cells**, this trend will be reversed.

practised this.³¹ In the past not very many assemblies practised dawn prayer meetings, but this has now become a general practice in almost all the assemblies. It is not clear as to the factors that have led to this. It appears the present socio-economic and political difficulties in the country may have contributed to this trend. It could also be that this practice has arisen as a result of the spiritual needs felt within the church. Friday prayer meetings in all the assemblies are maintained. The present position is that "intensive prayers, deliverance, Holy Spirit baptism should be enforced".³² During emergencies, days of prayer and fasting are called for.³³ Days of prayer and fasting are also called for in preparation of major conventions and outreach programmes, and the week preceding the week of the celebration of the Holy Communion.³⁴

Though "prayer and fasting" was practised in the church from an early time, the leadership held that "We have no authority to enforce long fasts upon our members, but we recognise that fasting has a place when properly applied".³⁵ This is one of the areas where McKeown's organisation is at variance with that of Anim.

³¹Pastors' Workshop, 2.

³²Ibid. This emphasis is now being made perhaps for the main reason that the various deliverance ministries in the country with large number of attendants drawn from all the churches including COP seem to pose a challenge. For example, a former elder of COP, Addae Mensah, has recently set up his own independent deliverance ministry, attracting hundreds of followers.

³³For example in 1993 as a result of a revelation the Labadi church (Accra) had about an impending danger one week of prayer and fasting was organised with large number of members of the congregation participating.

³⁴Evidences of power encounters in the past have amply convinced both the leadership and membership of the church that there are a host of evil powers which work to frustrate the activities of the church. For example it is believed these malevolent spirits cause vehicular accidents during conventions, place impediments in the preaching of the gospel, prevent the unconverted from surrendering to Christ, cause the church leaders and members to commit grievous sins, cause a short fall in the finances of the church, prevent ministers from effectively preaching the gospel, cause electricity failures, and the malfunction of convention and crusade equipments, the list goes on. Prayers are therefore specially focused to bring God's intervention in these areas. In all these prayers against what is believed to be the *works of the devil*, the *blood* and the *name* of Jesus have a special significance.

³⁵Church Council Minutes, Dec. 18 - 21, 1950. Private collections.

Fasting is not practised as an isolated discipline. It is always called for in the context of prayer.

Services and Convocations

There are two main purposes of the meetings of the church: "To propagate the Gospel" and to "Deepen the spiritual life of the Saints".³⁶ The major sources of recruitment for the church are its numerous evangelistic activities at the national, regional, district, and local levels. As in Anim's organisation Sunday is referred to as "**The Lord's Day**". However, unlike Anim's, there is no written code as to how individuals should comport themselves on Sundays except the warning against its desecration. Apart from the "English Assemblies" two services are held every Sunday. There are also "Evangelistic Campaigns/Rallies and Conventions."³⁷

During evangelistic campaigns, the message presented dwells on the power of Jesus to save the soul, heal the body, deliver from the hands of malevolent spirits (this includes witches and sorcerers); total security in Jesus; and peace and tranquillity in Jesus. A promise is made of a better life for today, and eternal life of bliss. The frailty of humanity and the hopelessness of man without God are stressed.³⁸ For them the key to one's material and spiritual progress is in the "acceptance of Jesus as personal saviour".

At the local church level, the message is more on life formation, prayer, and evangelism; avoidance of fornication, adultery, drinking intoxicants, smoking of cigarettes and tobacco. The need to pray, payments of tithes, and the involvement in evangelistic activities of the church, are also regular themes.

It appears the stress on spiritual salvation and life formation is basically due

³⁶COP Constitution 1988, 6.

³⁷Christmas conventions were held at the regional levels. In 1986 to the executive, because of the increasing growth of the church, and the cost involved in organising these huge meetings, decided that the Christmas conventions were to be organised at district level, while general Easter conventions were to be organised at the regional level.

³⁸Almost all the evangelistic songs for these meetings reflect this motif (COP *Christian Choruses* 1963, 33-38; 107-114.

to the ideology of the organisation, and perhaps that of the pentecostal movement as a whole. It claims the greatest miracle a person can experience is the *salvation of the soul*. Though during conventions the sick and the needy are prayed for at the end of some of the sessions, the emphasis is basically on the "salvation of souls", and devotional teachings directed towards the believers. To meet the specific healing and deliverance needs of individuals, special healing and deliverance sessions are normally arranged for one or two afternoons.³⁹ These meetings are handled by certain ministers of the church who are recognisably gifted in the areas of "healing", "deliverance" and "miracles".⁴⁰

As the church grew numerically, and its programmes and activities increased, healing services became rare at the local churches. This appears to be the most significant factor that has led to the proliferation of the healing camps and centres where "salvation" is vigorously pursued from both the material and spiritual fronts.

Marriage

As in Anim's organisation members were encouraged to marry Christians only. In the early days the church maintained that "Marriage to the heathen must be disciplined/suspended".⁴¹ Though saints were encouraged to marry from the church, or from other pentecostal churches, this did not always happen. The main purpose of such restriction, it is said, is to safeguard the salvation of the individual, since marriage to the wrong person could bring untold problems thereby affecting the salvation of the individual.

On marriage, divorce, and polygamy, the church's position is basically the same as Anim's. "The Church believes in chastity before marriage and teaches the youth to live blameless lives"; "the Church does not encourage divorce and

³⁹Most of those who attend these conventions for the first time come primarily because of some specific problem of which they were seeking supernatural succour.

⁴⁰The present writer in the past has witnessed some extraordinary things taking place at these sessions.

⁴¹This is based on 2 Cor. 6:14. This position appears to have been modified. Though marriage with unbelievers are strongly opposed, those who insist in doing that will not necessary be disciplined or suspended.

remarriage, neither does it agree to polygamy".⁴²

The church for some time held that "with regards to [the] polygamist, we as God's servants cannot say which one the husband is to take; we can only say he can be the husband of one wife".⁴³ Around the 1970s some leaders within the church taught that "it was only the first wife who is the legitimate wife" the rest were therefore illegitimate. Separation of these additional wives from the man: could be secured through mutual agreement, through prayer. Polygamists who died in that state were not given official burial. An elder or a deacon could be asked to bury such a person. No official representation was made at the funeral, since this person did not die as a full member.⁴⁴

THE BELIEFS OF COP

The COP, like Anim's organisation, demands from its members an uncompromising break from all forms of traditional means of supernatural succour. Under no circumstances are traditional priests to be consulted. These priests themselves are object of the evangelistic activities of the organisation: they are to be converted and their shrines and all that is associated with them destroyed. There is no middle road. Though one is not expected to break all connection with his/her forbears, religious exercises are not to be directed to them, neither should any mediatorial role assigned to them. Thus, like Anim's group, the much spoken of *ancestral cult* is not a subject of concern among this group. The whole system is rendered irrelevant since

⁴²All the various editions of the constitution of the church has this information. The only major variation is that the clause " .. the youth/ members to live blameless lives" which appear in the earlier constitutions is replaced by the statement "The Church believes in chastity before marriage" in the 1988 edition (p. 22).

⁴³Minutes, Council meeting, March 19-21, 1951. Private collections.

⁴⁴When the present Chairman of the Church was interviewed on this, without making any personal commitment, he felt the position with regard to who buries such a person is largely dependent upon individual pastors in charge and their own personal views. This is an indication that though this practice has been going on for a long time, there is no official position. The contradiction is that a polygamist could make a substantial financial or material contribution to the church and this will be accepted. The explanation given in support of this is that the church has no right in preventing the blessings of such a person, hence his donations are received with no qualms.

Christ, the Great High Priest, is presented as the only mediator who is more than able to "fulfil all the believer's needs". For them

Yesu Ōyε m'ade nyinaa, (2x)
Ōyε M'Agya, M'Nna, Onuabarima,
Ōyε m'ade nyinaa. (2x)

Translation

Jesus is my everything,
 He is my Father, my Mother, my (Senior) Brother;
 He is my everything.

Since in Christ the total needs of the saints are fulfilled, it is pointless turning to other discredited forms of help. The believer's required uncompromising stand for Christ is based on the historical reality of Christ's death which has redeemed him. The following song expresses this motif:

ONYAME nko na mεsom No,
Ōno na Owu maa me;
Oyii me fii me bōne mu;
Ōtew me ho, Ōgyee me nkwa.
Meyi N'ayε daa (2x)
Meyi N'ayε, mεda N'ase daa.⁴⁵

Translation

God only will I serve,
 He is the one who died for me;
 He took me from my sins;
 He cleansed/sanctified me, He saved my life.
 I will always praise Him
 I will praise Him, I will thank Him.

In the realm of belief, COP like Anim's movement, stresses the *soteriological* and *pneumatological* aspects of the totality of Christian belief. The pneumatology of the church however, does not make sense without a consideration of its soteriology. Neither does the soteriology of the church make sense without a consideration of its *christology*.

Sacraments: The Key to Understanding COP Soteriology

The soteriological understanding of the church is best understood through the

⁴⁵*Christian Choruses*, 14, s.n. 65.

main sacraments of the church: **Holy Communion and Water Baptism.**

Holy Communion

It is in the sacrament of the "Holy Communion" or the "Lord's Supper", that the church's doctrine of salvation can be fully discerned.

A week prior to the communion day, an invitation is thrown to "all brothers and sisters to come".⁴⁶ In order not to celebrate the Communion in an "unworthy manner", and also to reap the full benefits of it, all members (i.e., "brothers and sisters") are required to:

Enter into prayer and ask the Lord to chasten you to be fit for the holy Feast, in order to receive blessings and spiritual strength rather than damnation. (A week of prayer should be declared for teachings and rededication of the saints unto the Lord).⁴⁷

This week of prayer and fasting is fully participated by the members of the local congregation. The "blessings" expected are both spiritual and material (eternal life, peace, healing/health, protection, and the provision of "good things").⁴⁸

It is required that "the congregation shall continue to sing prayerfully while the Bread breaking continues until the same is ended".⁴⁹ The selection of Isaiah 53:4-5 as part of key texts to be read for the occasion is in consonance with the church's belief that "the healing of sickness and disease is provided for God's people in the atonement (Isaiah 53:4-5).⁵⁰ Though it is taught that the vicarious death of Christ primarily secures the eternal redemption of the believer, the church believes it also has material benefits which could be experienced in the *here and now*. These include "the healing of diseases; the redemption from physical destruction, satisfaction with

⁴⁶*Minister's Manual*, n.d., 19.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 20. The key biblical passages that are required to be read are: Isaiah 53:4-5; John 6:35-54, I Cor. 11:23-32 (Before the Supper); Psalm 103:2-5, and 118:1 (After the Supper).

⁴⁹*Workers' Manual*, 21.

⁵⁰*COP Constitution* 1988, 5.

good things, hence the selection of Psalm 103:2-5 as one of the key texts for the occasion.

The songs sung before and during the celebration, are centred on the vicarious death of Christ and its effects on the believer. Some look to the eschaton where the believer's salvation will be consummated. The common songs include the following:

Jesus mogya, mogya dehye
Wō Calvary bepōw no so,
Betew yen ho, na yeyen adehye,
Jesus mogya, mogya dehye.

Translation

The blood of Jesus, royal blood,
 On Calvary mountain;
 Come and cleanse us, make us "royals";
 Jesus blood, royal blood.

The celebration affirms a strong believe in the efficacy of the blood of Jesus. This **precious sacrifice of God**, is both efficient and sufficient to meet the cleansing needs of the believer, as the following song, which is normally sung at the early stages of the celebration, depicts:

Jesus bōgya nko na otum hor me kra ho;
Otum hor mo bōn ma me ye fitaa;
Birbiara nnkotum ahor m'ma meedzi mu
Gyede Jesus bōgya no nko.
Bōgya a ōhor fi, ōsor ahoōdzen;
Nyew Jesus No bōgyaa n'sombo;
Aforbōdze yi, bōgya ahyeε no ma (2)
Nyew Jesus no bōgya n'sombo.
Alleluia! Kamfo Nyame.
Alleluia! Kamfo Nyame.⁵¹

Translation

Only the blood of Jesus can cleanse my soul;
 It is able to cleanse me and make white;
 nothing can make me whole⁵²
 Except the blood of Jesus.

⁵¹Ibid., 101, s.n. 268.

⁵²Whole in the sense of moral uprightness).

The blood that washes away "filth",⁵³ heavenly power;
 Yes, the blood of Jesus is precious.
 A sacrifice that is filled with blood
 Yes, the blood of Jesus is precious.
 Hallelujah! Praise God.

In approaching the "Lord's Table", the congregation sees itself as *Jehovah's Ōman*. Though individuals ask for personal cleansing, their petitions move from the personal level to communal level at certain point prior to the feast, when everyone asks God's cleansing for the whole congregation.⁵⁴

The concept of cleansing of the *ōkra* (soul) features prominently in the celebration of the sacrament. The following song is illustrative:

*M'bōkō Jesus hō na Oeguar me kra;
 Oeguar me Eguamba n'bōgyaa n'mu;
 Jesus No bōgyaa n'na ōma hen ho tsew;
 Oeguar me Eguamba n'bōgyaa n'mu.*⁵⁵

Translation

I will go to Jesus for the washing of my soul;
 I am washed in the blood of the Lamb;
 It is the blood of Jesus that makes us pure
 I am washed in the blood of the Lamb.

During the celebration, the universal dimension of the blood of Christ is also stressed:

*W' ahwie N' mogya,
 Ōde agu aman nyinaa so (2x).*

Translation

He has poured his blood
 Upon all nations.

Since the blood of Jesus was poured upon all nations, everyone within the

⁵³This is used in the sense of moral pollution which therefore renders the individual or the community unacceptable by the deity (in this sense the supreme God, Jehovah).

⁵⁴This therefore supplants the occasional ritual bath of the *Ōkra* in the traditional religiosity, thus making it unnecessary for church members to relapse into this traditional ritual. We have fully discussed in chapter 1 the role of the *ōkra* in Akan concept of man.

⁵⁵COP 1963. *Christian chorus*, p.101, s.n. 267.

nations has the potential to be saved. It is the responsibility of the church therefore to publish the good news of salvation to all the nations for their possible redemption.

At the peak of the celebration, the whole atmosphere suggests that of "mourning" for the pain and agony Jesus went through in order to pay the debt of sin, as certain songs depicting this agony are sung. These songs include:

1. *Calvary na m'Agyenkwa wui, (2)*
Ehō na menya me nkwagye.
Ehō na Ōtseaam "Eli, Eli";⁵⁶
Ehō na menya me nkwagye (2).⁵⁷

Translation

My Saviour died at Calvary,
 There I obtain my salvation;
 There He cried, Eli, Eli;
 There I obtain my salvation.

2. *Ōsen dua no so mame (2x)*
Me bōne, ne wo bōne,
'ti na ōsen dua no so.⁵⁸

Translation:

He hangs on the tree for me
 Because of my sins, and your sins,
 He hangs on the tree.

3. *Calvary na m'Agyenkwa wui, (2)*
Eho na m'nya me nkwagye.
Eho na oteam, "Eli, Eli",
Eho na m'nya m'ntkwagye. (2)⁵⁹

⁵⁶"M'Agya", "m'Agya" (My Father, My Father) is used in place of "Eli, Eli".

⁵⁷*Christian Choruses*, 124, s.n. 453. Though the original version has "salvation", in actual singing, the term salvation is not used exclusively. Akan terms like "Ayaresa" (healing), *Ahofō* (liberty/ freedom); "anigye" (happiness) are used in place of "salvation" interchangeably. The suggestion is that when the term "salvation" is used by the members and the leaders of this church (this also applies to Anim's group), the primary reference is to "soul salvation", not "physical healing", "material blessings", "deliverance" or "protection", though they believe the salvific work of God through Jesus made available all these material benefits.

⁵⁸Ibid., 46, s.n. 332.

⁵⁹Ibid. 124, s.n. 453.

Translation

My Saviour died at Calvary
 From there I get my salvation.
 There he cried, "Eli, Eli",
 There I received my salvation.

4. *Owui ma meenya nkwa;(2)*
M'ayeyi bōfow akō no hō,
*Nyia Owui ma meenya nkwa n'.*⁶⁰

Translation

He died (in order) to give me life
 My praise will rise to Him,
 The one who died to give me life.

According to the teachings of the church, the sacrament is "a reminder to proclaim the Lord's death until He comes".⁶¹

Menye Jesus bōto nsa edzizi
Edzidzi, edzizi (2).
Jesus esiesie ndzepa ama me wō Sor hō:
*Daakye menye No bōto nsa ediedzi.*⁶²

Translation:

I will dine (together) with Jesus,⁶³
 Jesus has prepared a place for me in Heaven
 In future I will dine together with Him.

The futuristic aspect of salvation is suggested in the following song which is also sung with the celebration:

Di M' honam na nnom M'mogya no bi (2x)
Di o di o na wo benya nkwa,)
Dakye wo behu me nkwagye.) (2x)

Translation

Eat (some of) my flesh and drink (some of) my blood

⁶⁰Ibid., 75, s.n. 37.

⁶¹Opoku Onyinah 1991. *Basic Lessons for Christians*, 22.

⁶²COP 1963. *Christian choruses*, 119, s.n. 408.

⁶³This denotes eating from the same bowl or dish with someone or some people as it is traditionally done in the communal setting, which is an indication of solidarity and oneness.

Eat, eat, and you will have life,
In future you will see my salvation.

The reading of Psalm 103:2-5 at the end of the celebration suggests the organisation's firm belief in the goodness of God. In appreciation of this, it is required that not only should singing continue before and during the celebration, but also "there shall be time of singing" after the ceremony.⁶⁴

Praise and worship in the church, like that of Anim's, is rooted in the understanding of God's redemptive acts on behalf of the "*ahotewfo*".⁶⁵ To them, the community that has experienced God's salvation must demonstrate this in worship and praise. It is at the point of worship that the redeemed affirms the worthiness of God, and humanity's dependence upon Him. The past and the present have meaning because of God's acts of *salvation*. The experiential reality of God's salvation *yesterday and today*, injects fresh confidence into *tomorrow*, because man is assured of God's continued goodness. Worship therefore becomes spontaneous as each worshipper reflects on God's goodness. The songs which are sung after the celebration, almost exclusively express the absolute faith in the vicarious death of Jesus, and the efficacy of the blood and the name of Jesus in every situation that the believer faces, as the following songs demonstrate:

*Iesu n' mogya no, ama m'anya nkwa;
N'apira kuru mu na m'nya m'ayaresa
N' mogya no mu na w'ahoro me bōne;
Iesu wu no agye me koraa,
Enti me ma wo mmo.*

Chorus:

*Moo... mo mo, 2x
Iesu Kristo mmo,
Mede me ma wo mmo.*

Translation

The blood of Jesus has enabled me to have life;
I receive my healing through the wounds of his stripes;
Through His blood my sins are washed;
The death of Jesus has completely saved me;

⁶⁴COP *Ministers' manual*, 21.

⁶⁵The holy ones (the saints).

So I congratulate you (in the sense of saluting a victor).

*AHOTEFWO, munhira Awurade,
Mommō Ne din nkyerε aman nyinaa:
Wayε yεn nkwagye ho adwumah,
N'Ōde N'adehye mogya atō yεn;
Mogya a εsom bo n'Ohwie gui maa yεn,
'Ma yeafata Ne nkyen hō:
Nti momfa nsanku dwom ne ahokeka
Nhyε Ne din anuonyam. (2)⁶⁶*

Translation

Holy ones (Saints), bless the Lord,
Proclaim His name to all the nations
He has wrought the work of our salvation,
He has purchased us by his royal blood;
It was the precious blood that was poured for us
So that we will be worthy to be where he is:
Therefore, bring songs of praise with instruments and excitement in praise of
His name.

The church, on the basis of scriptural evidence, thinks there are four reasons why this sacrament should be celebrated:

It is a command of the Lord (1 Cor. 11:23);
It is in remembrance of what Christ has done for us (1 Cor. 11:26).
It is an expression of showing fellowship with one another in one body (1 Cor. 10:17);
The early Church practised it (Acts 2:42).⁶⁷

Its monthly celebration therefore is a glorious occasion for the believers. Because of the high value placed on the vicarious death of Christ, every believer is cautioned to "continue to work out his/her salvation with fear and trembling". Part of this is the regular participation in the sacrament in a "worthy manner", for it is through this sacrament that the death of Christ and its implications are reenacted.⁶⁸

⁶⁶*Christian choruses*, 14, s.n. 54.

⁶⁷Opoku Onyinah 1991, 22f.

⁶⁸Because of this, those who for official reasons are not able to participate (polygamists and those who have been suspended from membership for various reasons), are somehow supported by prayers and other means, in order for them to be restored to full membership which will remove the barrier that prevents these people from participation in what the church considers as glorious experience.

Water Baptism

For COP, water baptism is not just a sign of obedience where the initiate symbolically, identifies with Christ in His death, burial, and resurrection.⁶⁹ It also means:

I've been cleansed; my old life died with Christ; I've been brought into God's family. We are not brought into a "denomination" but "into Christ" (Romans 6:3).... Baptism is a ceremony of initiation, or admission into God's Family and signifies what God did at our conversion, what happened when we received Christ at conversion (John 1:12, 13).⁷⁰

The church's practice of believer's baptism is based on the scriptural evidence that Jesus was baptised after reaching the age of accountability, and the biblical evidence that belief or faith should precede the act of baptism.⁷¹ It believes that apart from the fact that in this sacrament the initiate symbolically identifies with the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, it is also an outward sign of the faith of the initiate; it is an outward expression of what has taken place within the initiate; and that it is a visible evidence that the initiate has joined the body of Christ.⁷²

Like the sacrament of the Holy Communion, the baptismal service takes place within the context of praise and worship. The initiates confess faith in the vicarious death of Christ and the fact that he, the initiate, is crucified, dead, and buried with Christ. After the reading of texts like Matthew 28:18-28; 3:13-17; Romans 6:1-23 and Colossians 2:12-14, the congregation sings, the initiates are made to "confess their faith in Christ Jesus that he or she had died with him for sin."⁷³ The minister then says:

"On the confession of your faith and the word of your testimony, I baptise you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen!" While the Minister is baptising, the congregation shall

⁶⁹Opoku Onyina/AIWC, n.d. *Foundations of Faith*, 12f.

⁷⁰Ibid., 11f.

⁷¹*Minister's Manual*, 15ff; Opoku Onyinah *Basic Lessons for Christians*, 11ff.

⁷²Opoku Onyinah 1991, 11.

⁷³*Ministers' Manual*, 18.

continue to sing.⁷⁴

In some instances, during the water baptism, the Holy Spirit baptism takes place concurrently, as the initiate, who has never spoken in **tongues** before, begins to experience this phenomenon.⁷⁵

After the baptism, the congregation continue to sing joyfully. The minister thereafter will pray and bless the congregation....⁷⁶

One significant thing about baptism in this church is that the whole exercise is centred in the communal consciousness of the group. If it happens in a local church situation for instance, the whole congregation is given an invitation to attend. Many people are therefore present to witness the act. This assures the initiate that he/she, though individual, is part of the whole community of believers. He/she is therefore able to call on the group support in times of difficulties, including persecution. With this understanding he/she determinedly affirms:

*MEREPEM so kō, Yesu, merepem so kō.
Se me nkurōfo ye me den ara a merensan;
Me ne wōn a wōapo wiase bekō:
Meresim o, me de, merepem so kō.*⁷⁷

Translation

I am striving forward, Jesus, I am striving forward.
Whatever my people may do to me, I will never retract;
I will move on with those who have forsaken the world.
I am starting,⁷⁸for me, I am striving on.

It is the group support that makes it possible for the saints to stand against all forms of appositions. In case of fierce opposition, the entire community can still stand

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵The present writer observes that this normally happens at the hands of the ministers who are gifted in the areas of healing, miracles, and deliverance. It is not clear whether "spiritual anointing" on particular ministers, or the spiritual state of the initiates, are the determining factors, or a combination of both. Since not every one of these "gifted" ministers who baptise experience this phenomenon, the factors involve in activating this experience may be more complex than one may think.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷*Christian Choruses*, 21.

⁷⁸In the sense of starting a journey.

together and strive forward with the absolute expectation that:

Sε ōko no mu yε den den ara a
Nkonim Hene ne yεn frankaa. (2x)
Yerekō yεn anim:
Yerensan yεn akyi ara da. (2x)

Translation

No matter how fierce the battle may become
 The Victorious King (that is Jesus) is our banner.
 We are moving forward:
 We will never go back.

Salvation Today

Those who have found Jesus as "Lord and Saviour" also believe that Jesus is their ultimate help in time of need. In their prayer meetings they sing songs like:

ONYAME, kae me ε,
Kae me ma enyε yiye,
Minni ogyefo bi sε Wo, (2)
Mekoto meserε Wo.⁷⁹

God, remember me,
 Remember me so that it will be well with me,
 I have no helper/saviour/ rescuer like you,
 On my knees I bow in petition.

Y'aba o, hyira yεn,
Y'aba Wo asendua, no ase
Nkwa n'asomdwei wō wohō (2)

Iesu e, yεgye wo di,
Enti na y'aba wo nkyεn
Nkwa n'asomdwei wōhō. (2)

We've come, bless us
 We've come under your cross
 Salvation and peace is there

Jesus, we believe you
 That is why we've come (2)
 Salvation and peace is with you

⁷⁹*Christian Choruses*, 45, s.n. 324.

<i>Ōdō Nyakopon,</i>	God of Love,
<i>Yeyi W'ayε daa:</i>	We praise you always
<i>Ōdō Nyakopon,</i>	God of Love,
<i>Yekamfo Wo daa</i> ⁸⁰	We adore you always

In the singing of these songs and many similar ones, the followers are reaching out to the God who has "saved their souls", to help them in the existential here and now. Some of these songs, interestingly, assume new forms in new environments. Abstractions are concretised, and the "spiritual" becomes material. For example, the third line of song number 84 above has been replaced by "*Asomdwei Nyame*" (God of Peace). We have also indicated elsewhere that the *m'nikwagye* (my salvation) of line four of the following song, is now interchangeably sung as (*m'ayaresa*) (my healing):

Calvary na m'Agyenkwa wui, (2)
Eho na m'nya me nikwagye.
Eho na oteam, "Eli, Eli",
*Eho na m'nya m'nikwagye. (2)*⁸¹

The suggestion here is that for this group, like that of Anim's, the good news of our Lord Jesus Christ does not only offer spiritual rewards, though this is basic, it also offers material rewards. Salvation is thus perceived as a total package. It means salvation for the whole person: body, soul, and spirit. None could be excluded from it without rendering the gospel deficient. Protection, healing, deliverance and material blessings are all included in salvation package.

This does not mean that the church teaches that suffering is not part of the Christian experience. it however teaches that:

MENYA nyenko Jesus mu,
Jesus mu, Jesus mu:
Menya nyenko Jesus mu;
Ōyε m'adze nyina.
Nsōhwε na ngyigye mu,
Fona ōnye suro mu;
Ōben me na Oehyira me,
Ōben me na Ōahyε me dzen;
Dem ntsi na meredzi ahurusi,
Meredzi ahurusi, Meredzi ahurusi:
Menye nyenko Jesus mu:

⁸⁰Christian Chorus, 17, s.n. 84.

⁸¹Christian choruses, 124, s.n. 453.

Ōyε m'adze nyina.

Translation

I have found a friend in Jesus,
He is my everything
In trials and in temptations
In tiredness and in fears,
He is near me and He is blessing me,
He is near me and He is strengthening me;
It is because of this that I jubilate
I am jubilating, I am jubilating.
I have found a friend in Jesus
He is my everything.

Because Jesus has been found to be a faithful friend he can be trusted in all situations, as the following song indicates:

OKRISTONI, ma w'ani nna Onyame so: (2)
Hwε no ara, gyae nkōmmō di,
Efise wimmu nnyε No nsakra na;
Onyakopong behwε wo so ma asi wo yiye.⁸²

Christian, let your eyes be on God:
Keep on looking unto Him, and stop worrying,
Because it is not difficult for Him to change the weather; God will watch over you, and your end will be prosperous.

The "end" here is used in the absolute sense, which means the believer may not experience physical deliverance here on earth. It may be granted by his maker that he/she is retired from the earthly labours into eternal rest where there is "no sorrow" and "no pain".

On the relationship between **salvation** and "protection" and "prosperity", the late Rev Egyir Paintsil, the foremost Bible teacher of the organisation, thinks "those who have surrendered themselves to the Lord and have accepted Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour have an unusual protection from the powers of darkness".⁸³ He believes there is "worldly prosperity" which is "false" and "Godly prosperity" which is "True" prosperity. He taught that it is "God's will to prosper His children"(Phil.

⁸²*Christian Choruses*, 53, s.n. 394.)

⁸³*The Word*, W-E 1st - 8th Nove. 1974, 7.

4:19; 3 Jn. 2),⁸⁴ but this is contingent on seven factors:

1. Obeying God's Word (Deut. 28:1-2)
2. Prayer (Phil.4:6)
3. Work (i.e., hard work) (2 Thes. 3:10-12)
4. Partnership with God (1 Cor. 3:9)
5. Diligence (Prov. 13:4; 22:29)
6. Tithing - faithfulness (Mal. 3:8-10; Lk. 6:38)
7. Giving (Acts 20:35).⁸⁵

He thinks the sphere of God's blessings includes: "In the city, in the field, offspring, livestock, provisions, storehouse, and leadership in all things".⁸⁶

The church's teachings on prosperity are closely linked up with its teachings on "Tithes and Offerings". The church writes:

We believe that the Bible clearly teaches believers to tithe their income (Gross earnings) unto the Lord and free will offerings made to the cause of carrying forward the kingdom of God. That God always blesses a cheerful giver (Mal.3:10; Heb. 7:1-4; Luke 6:38; Acts 20:35).⁸⁷

On tithes and offerings, Elder Stephen Appah thinks

Giving is in conformity with natural law-like the natural law of sowing before reaping, we can only expect to receive after we have given. Tithes and offerings are seed-money which will produce bountiful harvest (Lk. 6:38; Gal. 6:7; Eccl. 11:1, 2; 2 Cor. 9:6; Prov. 11:21 & 25; 19:17).⁸⁸

Appah, like other members of the church, believes giving will necessarily bring God's blessings on the giver, and these could take various forms:

Direct material blessings on our work, receiving gifts from people, prosperity for our children, and the Lord's protection from all troubles

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Rev. J. Egyir-Paintsil, (the first General Secretary of COP), unpublished sermon notes. Originals may be found with Joe Egyir Paintsil, Marketing Manager, Asempa Publishers. Copies are also available in the private collections of the present writer.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷*ministers' Manual*, 6.

⁸⁸*Pentecost Fire*, Issue 92, 1990, 18.

which might cause money (Deut. 28:1-14; Mal. 3:7-12; Prov. 3:9-10).⁸⁹

Church Doctrines

Salvation and Sanctification

On **Sanctification**, though the organisation simply states that "We believe in the Sanctification of the believer through the work of the Holy Spirit" without indicating its understanding of the subject, judging from their songs, sermons, and teachings, the position of the church on the subject is basically that of Anim's movement, which states that sanctification

Is purification of the nature from sin and filthiness of the flesh. This starts at the moment we are saved and should be a daily experience of "washing by the WORD"---complete dedication daily to God's will. MAN CAN LIVE ABOVE SIN because our sinful natures have been changed by the "new birth" (John 3:7) and Christ lives in our hearts! (1 Pet. 1:15,16; Matt. 5:48; 2 Cor. 7:7; 1 John 3:9).⁹⁰

Sanctification is not the same as *Spirit baptism*, rather, it is a condition or state of being, when the believer recognises that he has died with Christ with his body of sin. He knows that "he has become a new creature and a child of God"; "he is justified", "he is a member of the universal church", he has become "an heir of God" he has received the "Divine Nature" and thus he has become "a saint".⁹¹ With this

⁸⁹Ibid. Elder Appah's teaching on giving essentially reflects the official position of the church on the subject. Though the church teaches that it is God's will to prosper his people, it also warns against trusting in material riches. It has also recently come up against the system of oppressing the poor within the church, through excessive demands on the membership for special offerings towards specific projects. (This was been perpetrated by certain ministers and their local leadership.) Opoku Onyinah's message captioned "Stop making my Father's House a House of Merchandise", delivered on 6.4.92 during ministers' prayer meeting was a diatribe against this practice which was becoming endemic in the church. The executive has since issued a policy statement against taking more than two offerings on any single service.

⁹⁰ibid., 9.

⁹¹Opoku Onyina 1991, 4f.

understanding, he makes purposeful action, to "work out his salvation with fear and trembling" (Philippians 2:12).

COP like Anim's movement does not teach the possibility of entire sanctification in this life when one achieves "sinless perfection". It also sees the work of sanctifying grace as progressive, a process in which the believer on a daily basis, grows into the experience of holiness, striving towards the goal of the Christian life. It however, affirms that man can live and should live above certain types of moral failures. Sins like fornication, adultery, stealing, drunkenness, and smoking should not characterise the believer's life. A leader who falls into any such sin is dismissed forthwith, never to attain any leadership position in the organisation any more. A member who is caught indulging in any of these acts is placed under several months of suspension, until true evidence of repentance and conversion is discerned.

The COP unlike Anim's movement, has yet to systematise its beliefs on God, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, into writing. On the Godhead the church writes:

We believe in the existence of the One True God, Elohim, maker of the whole universe; undefinable, but revealed as Triune God--Father, Son, and Holy Spirit--One in nature, essence and attributes, Omnipotent, Omnipresent (Genesis 1:1; Matt.3:16-16; 1 John 5:7).⁹²

Apart from the church's subscription to the **Apostles Creed**,⁹³ nothing more is said about the Person and Work of Jesus and the Holy Spirit in this document.⁹⁴

⁹²*Ministers' Manual*, 4 cf. *Constitution* 1988, 5.

⁹³The standard Creed is printed in the *Ministers' Manual*, 2.

⁹⁴It must be noted, however, that some officials of the church, particularly the late Apostle Paintsil (the foremost Bible teacher of the Church), and, to a lesser extent, the present chairman of the Church, Prophet Martinson Yeboah, have, in the past, covered in their teachings aspects of Christian doctrines like: the doctrine of Christ (Christology), the Doctrine of God, (Theology Proper), the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit (pneumatology), the Doctrine of Last things (Eschatology), the Doctrine of Sin (Harmatology), the Doctrine of Salvation (Soteriology) in the assemblies. This sort

In spite of what appears to be lack of theological articulation by the Church, an examination of their songs, the **praise and prayers** of Madam Afua Kumah,⁹⁵ and some few writings by the leaders of the church, reveals a high Christology and a Pneumatology that have a distinctive local flavour. It will also reveal that fact that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, are perceived as three separate and distinct entities.

Pneumatology

The Holy Spirit is variously referred to as "*Onyame Sunsum*" (the Spirit of God), *Honhom Kronkron* (the Holy Spirit), *Iesu/Jesus Sunsum*, the Spirit of Jesus, and *Agya no Sumsum* (the Spirit of the Father.)

In their songs, "power", "fire", "wind", "guide" (the one who leads the way), "truth", are freely associated to Him.⁹⁶ He is also *Adom Nsu* (the occasional dry season rainfall which restores life and vitality into parched lands). This signifies the Spirit's work of renewal within the church.

We select the following songs for illustrative purposes.

OGYA e, ogya,
Sunsum Kronkron ne ogya: (2)
Beye w'adwuma,
Beye w'adwuma m'akoma mu:
*Ogya e, Onyame gya.*⁹⁷

Fire!, Fire,
 The Holy Spirit is fire:
 Come and do your work,
 Come and do your work in my heart:
 Fire, Fire of God.

of systematic biblical teaching in the church by these few individuals, however, does not seem to be wide spread within the church. The Accra International Worship Centre (see above), has introduced these subjects into its Sunday school curriculum.

⁹⁵Madam Afua Kuma (alias Christiana Afua Gyane) was a native of Obo-Kwahu and lived in a village called Asempaneye (Atuobikrom), (E. R. of Ghana) as a farmer. These sayings and prayers were originally in Twi. They were brought together by Fr. Jon Kirby, S.V.D. and published by Asempa Publishers in Twi under the title *Kwaeberentuw ase Yesu* (1980) and in English as *Jesus of the Deep Forest*.

⁹⁶These are some of the traditional symbols associated with a powerful deity.

⁹⁷*Christian Choruses*, 21, s.n. 119.

SUNSUM bɛyɛ N'edwuma (3)
Sunsum nokwafo,
Sunsum bɛyɛ N'edwuma, (2)
Ōno n' Ōyɛ hɛn kwankyerefo.

The Spirit will do His work
 The Spirit of Truth,
 The Spirit will do His work
 He is the One who Guides us.

Because He is the Spirit of Truth, God's children can trust His guidance. Though the children of God are all called and equipped into Christian ministry where they are required to play specific roles according to their gifts, it is the Spirit of God who enables them to effectively performed the tasks assigned to each believer. Like the traditional guide, who must be familiar with the terrain and with the requisite experience to lead and guide, the Holy Spirit is able to lead and guide God's people as they seek to do His will.

With this understanding, it becomes crucial that His presence is invoked in all Christian meetings as the following song suggests:⁹⁸

1. *SUNSUM Krōnkrōn bra, (2)* Holy Spirit come,
Sunsum Krōnkrōn bra; Holy Spirit come;
Ao fa dɛw bra, Alleluia! Oh bring joy, Halleluia!
2. *Sunsum Krōnkrōn bra.* Holy Spirit come.
Sɛ Amba a yɛaba no gyan: (2) Our gathering will be in
Sɛ Amba a yɛaba no gyan: vain if you don't come
Ao fa dɛw bra, Alleluia! Oh bring joy, ...
3. *Sunsum Krōnkrōn bra.*
Yerotwēōn W'yɛayɛ asōr; (2) We are waiting for you
Yerotwēōn W'yɛayɛ asōr in order to have the
Ao fa dɛw bra, Alleluia! service
Sunsum Krōnkrōn bra. Holy Spirit come.
4. *Yerotwēōn Wo tum no;* We are waiting for your
Yerotwēōn Wo tum no; power ...
Ao fa dɛw bra, Alleluia! Oh bring joy,
Sunsum Krōnkrōn bra.
5. *Yerotwēōn W' enyimnyam; (2)* We are waiting for
Yerotwēōn W' enyimnyam; your glory

⁹⁸Ibid., 127, s.n. 483.

Ao fa dɛw bra, Alleluia!
Sunsum Krōnkrōn bra.

Oh bring joy,
 Holy Spirit come

The Holy Spirit is the Comforter. He is the One who works the works of Christ among God's people. He gives supernatural abilities to God's people. These are recurrent themes within the Pentecostal community. As the community of the faithful goes about its mission here on earth it is assured of continued supernatural aid. On these beliefs hinge the recognition and admission that God's power to the Church is mediated by the Holy Spirit.

With the Holy Spirit, lack of formal education is no hindrance, for it is commonly believed that the Holy Spirit is the greatest teacher. He enables even illiterates, and even those with least educational background to read and teach from the Bible.⁹⁹ The key to the tapping of these unlimited abilities of the Spirit is the *glossolalic* experience, hence the stress on the need for every one to experience this phenomenon.

The understanding that the Spirit of God mightily worked through the early disciples of Christ also assures the saints that He is able to speak today. Because He was the "tongues of fire" that fell upon the early church, which enabled them to "turn the world upside down", His presence upon the faithful today, will enable them to do the same. Without the quickening agency of the Spirit of God, the saints will relapse into apostasy, experiencing spiritual death. The presence of the Holy Spirit is therefore needed in the day to day life of the believer and of the church as a whole. The Spirit is thought of as the one who guides the church, the Spirit of Truth who alone can help the saints to be faithful to God and to one another. His presence among

⁹⁹This is a common belief among the pentecostals (classic and neo). We have already referred to two otherwise illiterate women within Anim and McKeown's group who are believed to have been given the ability to read the vernacular Bible. At the village of Adimadim, near Suhum in the E. R. of Ghana, live two elders of the Church of Pentecost: Elder Danso and Elder Kwadwo. These Elders though they have never been to any formal school, are now able to read the Twi Bible. Duncan Williams of the Action Faith Ministries (see chapter 5) had just a modest exposure to primary school education but he now has an almost impeccable control over spoken English. He attributes this ability to the Holy Spirit. The Pentecostals however recognise that it is not every one that the Holy Spirit gives the ability to be able to read the Bible. For Example the leader of the Adumfa Prayer Camp, though she has reputable healing ministry with large following, can't read the Bible. This does not seem to impede her ministry.

His people is therefore crucial. Since the whole world is searching for Him, (that is, for truth), He is asked to come and do the "works of old" so that the world may know and believe. These are some of the themes that are clearly expressed in one of the recent songs of the group.¹⁰⁰

As with Anim's group, the baptism of the Holy Spirit features prominently in the teachings of the church. On this, the emphasis is not so much on the phenomenon as a sign of one having received the baptism of the Holy Spirit or not. The stress is on its existential value.

The Baptism in the Holy Spirit is purely a **SUPERNATURAL SEAL** and not a **SPECTACULAR SHOW**". This seal acknowledges the fact that the individual involved in this heavenly grace has **ALREADY** been born into the body of Christ. This experience suggests that the believer's whole personality, (SPIRIT, SOUL AND BODY) IS supernaturally immersed, surrounded and enveloped in the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, coming over him from ABOVE and from WITHOUT.¹⁰¹

The church teaches that the experience makes the initiate strong in the spirit. It gives him power to live the Christian life. It helps him in his prayers. It equips him for the spiritual warfare. It enables him to speak to God directly in a language that no one, even the devil, understands. In this case, the initiate "by passes" so to speak, the normal transmission channels in communicating with God. This puts him in direct contact with the Divine Being, God.¹⁰²

The Church's teachings on the Holy Spirit are in consonant with those of Anim's organisation which states that:

¹⁰⁰COP Women's Movement Int. Prayer Conference 18-22 August, 1993, 40. This is a eight-verse song with a chorus by Mrs Eunice Johnson. Mrs Johnson's songs, unlike the others, have several verses to them. This is a recent development in the songs of the movement.

¹⁰¹Rev Isaac A. Agyare 1993. *The Power and Character of Pentecost and Emotions*, vol. 3, 9f.

¹⁰²Opoku Onyina, *Basics for Christians*, 1989, 14f. This is the understanding one forms by listening to the teachings, conversations, discussions, and teachings of church members. On the value of tongues, Professor Anquandah, one of the key members of the movement in Ghana, puts it thus: "Of course we do need the gift of tongues to keep direct spiritual contact with God" (James Anquadah, *The Ecumenical Review* 31, 1979, 258).

THE HOLY SPIRIT is the Third Person of the Trinity, sent from the Father to "guide us into all truth", "convict the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgement to come" "to comfort, lead and teach the believers in Jesus Christ... to anoint, inspire and empower believers to continue the work Jesus began both to do and teach".¹⁰³ He is the "PROMISE OF THE FATHER"--all believers in Jesus Christ are entitled to receive, and should earnestly seek the Baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire according to the command of our Lord. This is the normal experience of all the early church. With this experience come power to preach and bestowment of the GIFTS OF THE SPIRIT. The believer is filled with the Holy Spirit, there is a physical sign of "speaking in other tongues as the Spirit of God gives the utterance". *This is accompanied and followed by a burning desire and supernatural power to witness to others of God's salvation and power.*¹⁰⁴

The Holy Spirit mediates the charismata of the Godhead. He is the one who casts out evil spirits, heals the sick, stops the mouths of lions, quenches flaming fires, and dismantles the ancestral yoke. The following song by Mrs Eunice Addison, expresses this motif:

*Nea Owui wo Calvary Sunsum no,
Reye awawa 'dwuma; (2x)
Retu mbonsam, resa nyarewa,
Siw gyata ano, redum gyatum,
Reka ananafo mpasor nyinaa gu.
Nea Owui wo Calvary Sunsum no
Reye awawa 'dwuma.*

Translation:

The Spirit of the One who died at Calvary,
Is performing miracles;
He is casting out demons, healing sicknesses, stopping the mouth of lions,
quenching flaming fires,
Breaking the ancestral yoke.
The Spirit of the One who died at Calvary
Is performing miracles.

Though Jesus is seen as the "Saviour" and the "Healer", the "Spirit of Jesus" who is on earth to glorify Jesus, also heals. God, by His grace, has bestowed His

¹⁰³Constitution 1964, 10. The 1964 constitution is the best source of information on aspects of the life of the church since this is the first constitution of the church. The later ones (1972 and 1989) have omitted some valuable information relating to the early life of the organisation.

¹⁰⁴CAC Constitution 1964, 10.

charismata in a special degree on those He has *Called*. Believers, however, also share in the *Charismata* both through the ministry of these leaders, and also by their own experience of the Spirit, through prayer, fasting, and devotion to the things of God. Though the church believes the Holy Spirit is at work within the church, His domain is not limited to the precincts of COP. "For the Spirit of God is doing His work in all the world, and wonders are taking place".¹⁰⁵ Since the church believes the Holy Spirit is meant for all believers, it has no difficulty in helping believers from other churches to experience His *fullness* which is understood to include the *Spirit baptism*.

JESUS CHRIST

The church's christological views are the same as those of Anim's group which have been spelt out above. Some of the themes that stand out in the teachings of the church on this subject are: the Kingship of Christ, the eternality and Deity of Jesus, His Lordship, the efficiency and sufficiency of the blood and the name of Jesus; the power of Jesus, and the love of Jesus. We will demonstrate through the following songs:

Ōsa Hene Kristo, moma N'din so,)
Ōye Ōhene, Ōye Ōhene, ampa) 2x
N'Ahenni da N'abetri so,)
Wōbɛfrɛ no sɛ Ōwanwa,)
Daa Agya, Ofotufɔ, Asomdwei Hene,)
Ōye Ōhene, Ōye Ōhene ampa) 2x

Translation

Field Marshal Jesus, (you, pl.) lift His name up
 He is King, He is King, indeed.
 His Kingdom is upon his shoulders
 He shall be called Wonderful,
 Everlasting Father, Counsellor, Prince of Peace;
 He is King, He is King indeed.

This song, which is one of the new songs of the church, is a combination of Isaiah 9:6 and local images of the king/chief, who is the symbol of power, authority, and unity within the traditional society.

That Jesus is wonderful because He is the:

¹⁰⁵ *Christian Choruses*, 44, s.n. 313.

"Great and powerful Jesus, incomparable Diviner, the sun and the moon are [His] *batakari*"¹⁰⁶, and His name predates his birth in that:

*Wōbō N'din ansa na wōwono,
 Ōnwawa ni ben ne Jesus,
 Isaiah, Yohane, Wōbō N'din,
 Sɛ wōbɛwo Ōbābayin,
 Amayen nne,
 Wōbɛfrɛ N'din sɛ,
 Ōwawani, Daa Agya, Asomdwei Hene.*

The prophets of old foretold that a child shall be born for us, and His name shall be called Wonderful, Everlasting Father, Counsellor, and Prince of Peace.

The Prince of Peace, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Son of God, is also the Lamb of God who died to take away the sins of the world.¹⁰⁷

Jesus! we have taken You out
 and nailed You to a cross.
 On a cross, we have nailed You.
 The cross is Your fishing net;
 You cast it in the stream and catch men.
 The cross is the bridge we cross over:
 To search for the well of His blood.
 The blood-pool is there.
 If it were not the cross,
 We would never have the chance to wash in that blood
 The cross is the Christian precious inheritance;
 It brings us to eternal life.¹⁰⁸

He came down from heaven to lay down His life for our sins.¹⁰⁹ His blood has purchased our salvation.¹¹⁰ He has given us power to be called the children of

¹⁰⁶Afuah Kumah, *Jesus of the Rain Forest*, 6. The *Batakari* is a traditional robe. This robe originates from Northern Ghana. It became the common attire of some of the traditional priests of southern Ghana. This may be traced to the fact that almost all the **new shrines** originated from the Northern Territories.

¹⁰⁷*Christian Choruses*, 100, s.n. 255.

¹⁰⁸Afuah Kumah, 35f.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 55, s.n. 421.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 40, s.n. 280.

God.¹¹¹ His blood has cleansed us from all our sins.¹¹² There is therefore no salvation in any one; there is no peace in anyone; there is no deliverance in any one, except through the blood of Jesus.¹¹³

In the thinking of the group, though **wonder** is always associated with the name of Jesus, vital and potent power is almost exclusively associated with the blood. It is through the blood that wonders are wrought. Healing comes through it. Salvation of the soul comes through it. It is the blood of Jesus that protects the individual from the malevolent spirits. It is also the blood that provides continued cleansing for the believer.¹¹⁴

Because of His vicarious death, believers are no more under condemnation. They are justified by faith. They are made *ahenfo* (kings), and *adehye* (royals), and they will rule with Him forever.¹¹⁵ The blood continues to avail for them throughout time.¹¹⁶

Jesus was crucified, died, buried and was raised from the dead in power, confirming that indeed, He is the Son of God.¹¹⁷ He is now ascended into heaven, and is preparing a place for the saints, from whence He will come to receive them unto Himself.¹¹⁸ He is coming soon,¹¹⁹ and the believers are going with Him into a new and a beautiful City. The Lamb will be their Guide, and he who is the only way to God,¹²⁰ will lead them into the celestial city.¹²¹ He is also coming again to

¹¹¹Ibid., 29, s.n. 183.

¹¹²Ibid., 31, s.n. 201.

¹¹³Ibid., 36, s.n. 246.

¹¹⁴*Christian Choruses*, 138, s.n. 560; 120, s.n. 415; 85, s.n. 127; 22, s.n. 127.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 32, s.n. 206, 215.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 31, s.n. 199; cf. 30, s.n. 191.

¹¹⁷These themes are reflected in one of the new songs of the group.

¹¹⁸*C.C.*, 103, s.n. 281, 286.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 103, s.n. 284.

¹²⁰Ibid., 30, s.n. 195.

judge the world. That day will be terrible for sinners,¹²² but it will be a glorious day for the saints.¹²³

The Lordship of Jesus is one of the paramount themes in the Church's theological understanding. On these J. Egyir-Paintsil writes:

The word LORD, in many Ghanaian languages, has four or five connotations. It means or implies

1. A buyer or owner of slaves
2. A mighty Conqueror;
3. An impeccable and loving Ruler;
4. A father or Head of a Family;
5. A loyal Husband.¹²⁴

Paintsil believes these traditional concepts of "Lordship" are in consonance with the biblical concept of the Lordship of Christ. He taught that Jesus is LORD because:

1. He has bought us, who were slaves to sin and the devil, with His own blood. The preciousness of His blood, unlike human currencies, can never be devalued. He has made us His willing servants.

2. He has overcome or conquered all principalities and powers that fight against man's eternal-well-being. He has conquered the devil, sin and the grave.

3. All rule in the Universe is entrusted to Him by God. He declares in Matthew 28:18 "All authority - all power or rule - in heaven and on earth has been given to me".

4. Jesus is LORD because eternal life originates from Him. He gives those who believe on Him eternal well-being (John 1:12; 10:28; Hebrews 2:13 and 12:2).

5. He is, as it were, the Husband and Head of the invisible and the true Church which is made up of all born-again Christians. He is preserving, nourishing, cleansing, and adorning this Church for the life to come.¹²⁵

¹²¹Ibid., 103, s.n. 287.

¹²²Ibid., 43, s.n., 308.

¹²³Ibid., 121, s.n., 424, 426.

¹²⁴*The Word*, w-e 18th to 25th April, 1975, 3.

¹²⁵Ibid.

The COP Concept of the Almighty God

Though some of the titles and works of the *Onyankopon* (God Almighty) are assigned to Jesus, He is, nevertheless, not confused with the **Father**. The following songs illustrate our point.¹²⁶

Na wotow Onyakopon akoo Mose ndwom
Ne Oguanba N'ndwon se:
Awurade Nyankopon, Ade nyinaa so tumfo
Wo nnwuma ye kese, na eye nwanwa
Meresanten Hene, Woakwan tene
Meresanten Hene, Woakwan tene
*Meresanten Hene, Woakwan tene, na eye nwanwa.*¹²⁷

And they sang the song of Moses the servant of God
 And the song of the Lamb:
 Great and marvellous are your deeds, Lord God Almighty.
 King of the ages, your ways are righteous
 King of the ages, your ways are righteous
 King of the ages, your ways are righteous, and are Wonderful.

Here the **Lamb** (Jesus Christ) and the "Lord God Almighty" are used as separate and distinct entities.

In the Akan language, the titles **Onyankopong**, **Odomankoma**, and **Nana O/Nyame**, are names assigned to Jehovah God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. These titles have found their unique place in the *Pentecostal Spirituals* in specific reference to God the Father, whereas the **Son of God** (Jesus Christ) is referred to as *Onyame N'ba*.¹²⁸

Yesu, Oye Onyame N'ba,
Na N'tumi boro ade nyinaa so (2).

Jesus is the Son of God,
 And His power transcends everything.

¹²⁶The evidence we are going to provide here should be considered with previous discussions on "the sacraments", "Jesus Christ", and the "Holy Spirit".

¹²⁷This is one of the new songs of COP. It is based on Revelation 15:3.

¹²⁸The fact still remains that Jesus is sometimes referred to as "Mighty God, Everlasting Father ..." in some of their songs. The group, like that of Anim, also holds to the view that the Son and the Father are separate and distinct entities.

*MOMMA yenni yen Nyankopon akyi;
 Momma yemfa yen ho nto No so;
 Na Ono na Obro ade nyinaa so,
 Na Ono na Obeye (2)
 Na Ono na Obeye¹²⁹*

Let us follow our God (that is, the Supreme Being)
 Let's depend upon Him
 For He is the greatest of all,
 He is the One who will perform it.

*Yen tete botan ne Yehowa (2)
 Ma aman nyinaa nhu se
 W'ahooden mu na yedi de,
 Ma aman nyinaa nhu se
 W'ahooden mu na yedi de.¹³⁰*

Jehovah is our Rock of Ages
 Let all the nations know
 That it is in your strength that we rejoice.

Though the works of the Father are sometimes associated with the Son, there are certain works and titles that are uniquely associated with the Son.¹³¹

At the evangelistic crusades of the group, the following song is normally sung:

*AMAN nyinaa, aman nyinaa,
 Mommra mmehwe Nyame Ne'Ba a
 Wōakorōn no, wōakorōn no,
 Mommra mmenhwe N'anuonyam.¹³²*

All nations, All nations,
 Come and see the Son of God who

¹²⁹C.C. 23, s.n. 130.

¹³⁰Ibid., 22, s.n. 120.

¹³¹The atonement of Christ is a typical example. It was Christ who actually died for the sins of the world; it is Christ who "gives us permission to be called the children of Nyame" (C.C. 29, s.n. 183.). The title *Nkwa Abodoo* (Bread of Life), and *Ōsabarima Iesu* (Chief Warrior Jesus) are never associated with the Father. For more information on some of these honorific titles see Afuah Kumah's Book, *Jesus of the Deep Forest*, Asempa Publishers, Accra. Also see Kwame Bediako's 1993 Laing Lecture, "Cry Jesus! Christian Theology and Presence in Modern Africa", which was based on Afuah Kumah's work, published in *Vox Evangelica*, vol xxiii (April 1993): 7-25.

¹³²*Christian Chorus*, 34, s.n. 225.

He is exalted, He is exalted,
Come and see His glory.

The song makes a clear distinction between "God the Father", and the Son of God.

In certain instances, (for example, during prayers for Spirit baptism, and healing) the third person of the Trinity is appealed to directly:

SUNSUM bɛyɛ N' edwuma,
Sunsum nokwafo,
Sunsum bɛyɛ N' edwuma,
*Ōno n'Ōyɛ hɛn kwankyerɛfo*¹³³

During prayer for healing and the Holy Spirit Baptism sessions of this group, certain manifestations become evident (for example, speaking in tongues) and this is normally attributed to the presence of the Holy Spirit. Though this type of prayer is said in the name of Jesus, the Personality of the Holy Spirit in this type of exercise is never confused with any Person of the Triune God.

The foregoing evidence have led us to conclude that this group, like Anim's group, has a clear understanding of the different Persons within the Godhead, and their respective functions. Our analysis is therefore at variance with Hollenweger's assertion that:

The modalist doctrine of the Trinity ... is more in accordance with religious feeling and practice of Pentecostalism than a doctrine of the Trinity taken over without understanding from the traditional churches.¹³⁴

We believe the group's clear understanding of the Three Persons in the Trinity, is due to the fact that the Akan like the other people's of Ghana, are equipped linguistically to express the absolute uniqueness of God.

The Imminent Coming of Christ

One of the foundational beliefs of COP is the Second Advent. Prophecies are given to signify its imminence. Visions and near death experiences are shared within the group which confirm their belief that indeed, the Advent is imminent. Warnings

¹³³*Christian Choruses*, 86 s.n. 140; also see s.n. 139; *Christian Choruses*, 127, s.n. 483. The text of this song is found elsewhere in this chapter.

¹³⁴*The Pentecostals*, 311f.

are given through prophecies, preaching, and teaching that the believers should be ready.

One of the influences of the high-drive evangelistic ethos of the church is the fact that Jesus is indeed coming, and the believers will be rewarded individually according to their level of participation in the "Kingdom Business". One of the recent songs of the group, portrays the teachings of the movement on the subject:

Meretweon Ne mbae, wo sor adanpan mu
Meretweon Me Jesus Ōnkeyer na W'aba.
Meretweon na meretsie ndze a obetseam' dasuom'
Meretweon Me Jesus Ōnkeyer na W'aba.

Chorus:

W'ahye me bō de obefam'
Nye m'aketsena N'enyimnyam mu
W'ahye me bo de obemam'
Kunyim Ahenkyew na ma m'asua a

Meretweon na meretsie ndze a obetseam' dasuom'
Meretweon Me Jesus Ōnkeyer na W'aba.¹³⁵

Translation:

I am waiting for His coming, from the heavenly glory
 I am waiting for my Jesus, His coming will not be delayed.
 I am waiting to hear the voice that will shout in the late night hour;
 I am waiting for my Jesus, His Coming will not be delayed.

Chorus

He has promised me that He will come for me
 To go and stay with me in His glory
 He has promised me that He will give me:
 A crown of victory

Another recent song from the same person has a similar message:

Ōreba abefa N'nkrofo
Ofi ahengua n'enyim oreba
Ofi mununkum mu na oreba
Abefa hen ekehyia wo wim',
Nyew, Ōreba menngye kyim, mennsuro

¹³⁵This is one of the post 1963 songs of the group. It came through Eunice Addison, a one time Deputy General Women's Leader of the Church. This is contained in the collections of Mrs E. Addison.

*Ewuradze Ne ba no abɛn.*¹³⁶

Translation:

He is coming to take His people,
He is coming from the presence of the [heavenly] throne;
He is coming from the clouds,
To come and take us to meet Him in the sky;
Yes, He is coming I will not doubt, I will not fear;
The Lord's coming is nigh.

The above songs belong to the recent additions to the church's repertoire of songs. An examination of the older songs indicates that the church's views on the subject has not changed.¹³⁷ We will take examples from both Akwapim Twi and Fanti Twi sections of the *Christian Choruses* to illustrate this point.¹³⁸

*AHEN mu Hen na Ōreba n' ampa;
No tumi kɛsɛ n'bōwosow wiadze nyinaa:
Ewufo bōsōɛr nye atseasefo nyina
Bōbō m'ekɛhyia No wō wimu hō.
M'bɛka ho, Alleluia! M'bɛka ho bi,
No Bogyaa ntsi mo so m'bɛka ho.
Ndzɛbōnyɛfo runntum nnhwɛ N'enyim hyɛnhyɛn n';
Ahotsewfo nye No bɛtsɛna afebōō.*¹³⁹

Translation

The King of Kings is Surely the One coming
His power will shake the whole earth:
The dead will rise, and all the living
They will all go and meet Him in the sky.
You will be among, Hallelujah, You will be among,
Because of His blood, you will also be among.
Evil doers will not be able to behold his glorious/shinning countenance;
The righteous will live with Him forever.

¹³⁶E. Addison. Private collections.

¹³⁷This could be said of Anim's group and the other older pentecostal churches as well. Songs and teachings move freely among the mainline pentecostal churches (Assemblies of God because of its strong American Association is excluded). The first Choruses book published by COP for instance contains collections from Anim's group and other groups (See Preface, *Christian Choruses*, First edition, 1963).

¹³⁸Some of the songs in this book were originally given in other languages.

¹³⁹*Christian Choruses*, 120, s.n. 420.

*Ōreba abɛfa No nkorōfo,
Ofi ahengua n'do reba;
Ofi enyimnyam mu reba wimu abɛfa
Hɛn ekehyia No Kwan: Ne ba n' rebeɛn.
Nyew, Ōreba, mma nngye kyim, mma nsuro:
Ewuradze Ne ba no rebeɛn.¹⁴⁰*

Translation

He is coming to take His people,
He is proceeding from His throne;
He is proceeding from His glory into the sky to take
us to meet Him: His coming is drawing nigh
Yes, He is coming, do not doubt, do not be afraid:
The Lord's Coming is drawing nigh.

The following song is sung in almost all the church's evangelistic crusades.

*Asem kɛse reba wiase,
Wōɛbobō soro se mpa;
Wōɛnan asase se nku:
Onua, wo gyinabea wōhe?¹⁴¹*

Translation

A Cataclysm is coming upon the earth,
The heavens will be rolled like a mat;
The earth will be melted like butter:
Friend where is your stand?

The following example suggest a belief in the fruitlessness of human effort on that day.

*DA n'a abɛn kɛse bɛbom paa, paa, paa,
Ogyefo biara nni hō mma obiara;
Yesu betra N'ahengua no so;
Da no, da no, ebeyɛ dwe
Wo bosom ntumi nnye wo!
Da no, da no, ebeyɛ dwe!
(Wo sika ntumi nnye wo!)
(Wo yerenom ntumi nnye wo!)
(W'abusua ntumi nnye wo!)
(W'ahoōfɛ ntumi nnye wo!)¹⁴²*

¹⁴⁰Ibid., 121, s.n. 424.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 43, s.n. 307.

¹⁴²Ibid., 43, s.n. 308.

Translation

That day the trumpet shall sound ...
 There will be no saviour for anyone;
 Jesus will sit on His throne;
 That day, that day, will be terrible
 Your money (wives, relatives, beauty ...) cannot save you.

The examination of the overall teachings and practices of the church suggests strongly that, though "Pension and Provident Funds" have been put in place in the organisation for the benefit of the workers, and that fixed assets (mainly church buildings, crusade and convention equipments, Cars, buses, and trucks, and audio visual equipments) are being acquired by the organisation, these arrangements do not seem to conflict with their strong belief in the imminence of the *parousia*. It appears the belief held is that these material acquisitions are in line with the biblical principle of Christian stewardship, as they seek to fulfil "The primary aims and objectives of the church: to practise and propagate what our Lord Jesus Christ had commanded in Mark 16:15-16)". All these arrangements which seem earthly, are in support of the said primary aim of the organisation.

Conclusion

The life and faith of the church was not developed by McKeown, neither was it developed by the "experts" alone. It emerged as the "children of the soil" interacted with the Bible,¹⁴³ vis-a-vis their own experience and the teachings they received from the leadership. It was a group effort by priests like J. Egyir Paintsil, and illiterate peasants like Afuah Kumah, that gave shape to the beliefs, practices, and the spirituality of the church. The role of the "experts" in this regard, was polishing and shaping the initiatives of the "peasants", (so far as they fall in line with what the leadership considers as orthodox). Through the combined efforts of the laity and the clergy, the church now stands as the largest authentic protestant Christian group in the country. McKeown's group having found in Christ the ultimate source of supernatural succour, have rejected traditional sources of "**salvation**" (divinities, charms, amulets, ancestors). They have found ultimate security in Christ. They have become *Jehovah's Oman*, and in Christ they share in the salvific works of God.

¹⁴³They believe it is the **Word of God**, and that the Holy Spirit keeps on illuminating it thus making it relevant for today's needs.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NEO-PENTECOSTALISM:¹

THE QUEST FOR IDENTITY AND ABUNDANT LIFE

Setting the Scene

One commentator has observed that:

By the end of the 1980s the novelty was unable to be denied. In any major African city, from Harare to Freetown, from Nairobi to Kinshasha, these churches were to be found every Sunday in schoolrooms, cinemas, theatres, halls and hotel conference rooms. Some of them, in the space of a few years have become mega churches with a very high profile. Idahosa's Church of God Mission International in Nigeria, Otabil's International Central Gospel Church, Accra, Wutawanashe's Family of God in Zimbabwe, Leslie's Abundant Life in Kampala, Gitonga's Redeemed Gospel Church in Kenya, are now huge churches that simply did not exist twenty, in some cases even ten, years ago.²

The evangelical fellowships existing in the country around or before the 1970s were the initial source of membership for the neo-pentecostal churches.³ The late 1960s and early 1970s saw what may be considered as an Evangelical/Charismatic revival in the country. This revival resulted in the proliferation of several nondenominational evangelistic associations in many parts of the country, especially southern Ghana. These associations included: Agbozo's Ghana Evangelical Society (GES); the Hour of Visitation Choir and Evangelistic Association (HOVCEA); Youth Ambassadors for Christ Association (YAFCA); National Evangelistic Association (NEA).

In addition there were two Christian fellowships working among students: **Scripture Union (SU)**, and the **University Christian Fellowship**. The creation of the **Town Fellowships** became necessary when it was realised that during holidays

¹The evangelical/charismatic renewal in the 1960s and 1970s saw the development of new independent pentecostal churches, some becoming huge churches in less than a decade from their emergence. The term "neo-pentecostal" is used in this thesis to denote these new Pentecostal churches. Thus "neo-pentecostalism" as used here, refers to the entire neo-pentecostal phenomenon and the spirituality it represents.

²Gifford 1994b, 515f.

³E. Dovlo 1992. Comparative Overview of Independent Churches and Charismatic Ministries in Ghana, *Trinity Journal of Church and Theology*, 2:2 (Dec.), 60.

or after school years, members of the SU and UCF did not find a suitable outlet for fellowship. The Town Fellowships therefore emerged as separate and distinct entities to meet this need.⁴

From about 1970 to about 1983 the Town Fellowships developed three distinctive emphases. These emphases surfaced within different periods.⁵

The Era of Evangelism: early 1970s to ca 1978

The Era of Prayer: ca 1978-1983

The Era of Indoctrination ca 1983

The era of evangelism stressed personal and collective evangelization of non-Christians. The concept of personal salvation and personal evangelism was emphasised. The idea of winning other students for Christ became a major preoccupation for many. Some students are said to have set targets as to the number of friends they should win for Christ during a school term or year.⁶

The period of evangelism was followed by the era of prayer. This period stressed sustained prevailing prayer. This era happened to be the period that Ghana experienced what may be considered as the worst economic crisis the nation had ever seen. It also coincided with Rawlings' first and second coups *d'état* with their attendant upheavals in the society.

Within the prevailing difficulties, Christians were left with two alternatives: either to pray for supernatural succour or compromise with the corrupt system. Many chose the former. All night prayer meetings became the order of the day. The Ghana Evangelical Fellowship, led by Brother Enock Agbozo was very instrumental here.

⁴Though the SU has been operating in the country for more than 100 years, mainly in the second cycle institutions, it assumed pentecostal spirituality only from the late 1960s. The UCF operated mainly in the country's tertiary institutions. Adubofuor suggests that it was basically through these para-church organisations and other interdenominational fellowships like the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, and Women Aglow International, which emerged in the country in the 1980s, that pentecostal spirituality entered the mainline churches (Samuel Adubofuor, Ph.d thesis, The Para-church movement, University of Edinburgh, 1994).

⁵Interview with Rev William Obeng Darko, 12.7.93. Obeng Darko was one of the Senior Pastors of International Central Gospel Church, and one time Dean of the Ministerial Training Institute of ICGC. Due to some administrative changes within the organisation he was posted to Kumasi in 1993 to head the Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Northern and Upper Regions. Obeng and Ekow Eshun, the pastor in charge of the Kumasi church announced their independence from the ICGC in 1994.

⁶Tbid.

His all night prayer meetings became a focal point for strength for many young people including leaders of the Town Fellowships.⁷

It was during the same period that Kenneth Hagin's books and cassettes and Oral Roberts TV programme became very popular.⁸ Kenneth Hagin's **"You can have what you say"** and Oral Roberts' **"Something good is going to happen to you"** became sources of comfort and hope for many, as people battled the economic and social realities of the time.

The era of prayer was followed by the era of indoctrination. This era came with the emphasis on the "Local church concept". Meetings are said to have been held at places like the Prisons' Canteen and YWCA, purely for teaching purposes. Some of the personalities involved in the indoctrination process were Mensah Otabil and Obeng-Darko. The topics dealt with included the teaching that **Fellowships** were "just a stop-gap measure" and that God did not intend to set up fellowships, and that fellowships should find their place within the context of the local church.⁹ Other subjects treated were: "Rediscovering Who You Are", "The Christian Position in Christ", and "The Authority of the Believer". The latter topics were popularly known among the pentecostals as "new creation realities".¹⁰

The need to form local churches was therefore born out of these teachings. The idea of forming churches out of the existing fellowships was however faced with

⁷Rev Oben-Darko indicates that many people, including the present leadership of most of the neo-pentecostal churches were influenced by Agbozo's meetings. Many of them attended his meetings and "took the fire" from there. Agbozo was formerly a member of the Christ Apostolic Church. See Adubofuor's Ph.d Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1994.

⁸Rev Hagin's books and cassettes were in circulation both in Ghana and in Nigeria. Books like: *The Name of Jesus* (Tulsa, 1979), *Words* (Tulsa, 1979), *Redeemed from poverty and spiritual death* (Tulsa, 1983), *How to write your own ticket with God* (Tulsa, 1979), were among the popular books on the market. Because of the nature of the economy then, most of the books came through the Nigerian market. Oral Roberts weekly *Abundant Life* broadcasts with the popular slogan: **"Something good is going to happen to you"** also became very appealing.

⁹The kind of "local church" meant here as we shall presently see, was the "the Bible-believing, evangelical-pentecostal" type church.

¹⁰Interview with Obeng Darko, 12.7.93.

two problems. Most of the members of the fellowships belonged to other churches. How they could leave their churches to join a new church became problematic. The other issue at stake was the recognition and acceptance of these new church leaders by their own comrades.¹¹

The Emergence of Neo-Pentecostal Churches

By 1985 the major neo-pentecostal churches had been formed.¹² Duncan Williams' Christian Action Faith Church emerged in 1979 as the first of the neo-pentecostal churches.¹³ Mensa Otabil's International Central Gospel Church followed in February 1984. Michael Essel's Grace Outreach Church, Nii Tackie Yarboi's Victory Bible Church, and AmpiaW Kwofie's Global Revival Ministries, also made their appearances around 1985.¹⁴ Anaba's Broken Yoke Foundation, Agyin Asare's World Miracle Bible Church, and others mentioned by Gifford were all born later and

¹¹Ibid.

¹³After Duncan Williams' Bible school education at Idahosa's **Church of God Mission International Bible School**, Benin City, Nigeria, (1976-78) he returned to Ghana in 1978 and wanted to work with the Church of Pentecost (COP) as an evangelist. His desire was painfully turned down as COP was still rooted in its inflexibly traditional way of recruiting church ministers. This rejection is said to have been a very discouraging blow to him. He therefore started a cell group at his father's residence at the Airport Residential area, Accra. Meanwhile, Idahosa had started his TV programme, the "**Redemption Hour**" in the country in 1977, and the Redemption Hour Evangelistic Ministry had also been born at Larterbiorkorshie, Accra in 1978. J.S.B. Koker, assistant to Idahosa, then came to Ghana to help Duncan Williams to move his group from the level of a home cell to a church. His church was thus started in 1979 (Interview: Leslie Tex and James Saah of CAFM on 15.8.93 and 19.8.93 respectively; Seth Abbey, pastor of **Aflame for Christ**, and a class mate of Duncan Williams at Idahosa's Bible School, 1.10.93).

¹⁴AmpiaW Kwofie was formerly the pastor in charge of evangelism at the Christian Action Faith Ministries of Duncan Williams. He later seceded to form the Global Revival Ministry, which was an evangelistic ministry in 1983-1984. It became a church in 1985. Later Eric Oduro Kwapong, founder of "Judah Praise" and Abaka Johnson of Johnson Foundation (an evangelistic ministry) teamed up with AmpiaW Kwofie. The two later seceded to join ICGC. At the moment it is not clear to us what prompted these secessions. It does seem however, that personality differences may be one of the main factors.

are smaller.¹⁵

Ojo mentions that the early leaders of the neo-pentecostal churches in Nigeria were all highly placed, and from the well educated elites of the society;¹⁶ the case was different in Ghana. "Spiritual ardour rather than training characterised the leadership of the emergent pentecostal forms".¹⁷ One of them, Ampia Kwofie of Global Revival Ministries, is believed to have discontinued his undergraduate education in order to devote his time to full time Christian ministry.

Where one sees a strong bond between the classic pentecostals and the neo-pentecostals is in the area of theological understanding especially with regard to the *Baptism of the Holy Spirit*¹⁸.

The major reason why the theological understanding of the pentecostals and the neo-pentecostals are one and the same may be due to the fact of the historical connection between the two groups. Duncan Williams of Christian Action Faith Ministries was a member of the Church of Pentecost.¹⁹ Mensah Otobil, of International Central Gospel Church (ICGC), though Anglican in his early days, later

¹⁵Paul Gifford 1994. Ghana's Charismatic Churches. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, XXIV, 3: 241-265.

¹⁶M.A. Ojo 1990. Charismatic Movements in Africa. An unpublished paper presented at the University of Edinburgh during the conference, **Christianity in Africa in the 1990s**.

¹⁷O.U. Kalu 1992. The wind of God, 8.

¹⁸The two groups believe in a post-conversion crisis experience, referred to as "Spirit Baptism" which is available to all believers. They all teach that this initial evidence is distinct and separate from the gift of tongues which is for certain individuals.

¹⁹Duncan Williams tells us that an Indian lady, Mrs Rajj, assisted by the Acquah sisters preached the gospel of Jesus to him while he was admitted to the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital in Accra. On his discharge "The Acquah sisters invited me to the Church of Pentecost where I graciously received the baptism in the Holy Ghost. ... I walked several kilometres every day to attend the Church of Pentecost fellowship meetings. The miles became yards of walking distance as I sang and prayed in tongues all the way to and from church" (*Destined to Succeed* 1990, 136ff.). The same could be said of the senior ministers like Pastor Nyarko, and Pastor Leslie Tetteh Buabassah (alias Leslie Tex), and Pastor James Saah of CAFM.

followed his mother and the rest of his siblings to the Assemblies of God church when he was about twelve years old. He was a member of the Assemblies of God Church until he founded ICGC.²⁰ Rev Ampia Kwofie, Global Revival Ministries, is believed to have had association with the Four Square Gospel Church. Nii Tackie Yarboi experienced personal conversion to Christ through the SU. He received the Spirit baptism through Agbozo's GES. He was with the Apostolic Church for three years.

Michael Essel of Grace Outreach Church seems to be the only exception. He indicates that he was formerly of the Methodist Church. Essel however believes he got his Holy Spirit baptism at the SU. His mother was a member of the Apostolic Church. His immediate associate, Pastor Ayiku, was a member of the Church of Pentecost, and was in fact baptised by McKeown. Similar connections could be made of the groups mentioned by Gifford.²¹

The Two Strands of Neo-Pentecostalism

The neo-pentecostals, on the basis of theological emphasis, may be grouped into two broad categories: a) those who in addition to the normal evangelical-pentecostal message (Jesus Christ the Saviour, the Healer, the Baptizer in the Holy Spirit, and the Soon Coming King²²), place an overriding emphasis on *abundant life* or the material and physical well being of the believer; b) those who in addition to the normal pentecostal message, as outlined above, have an overriding concern for so-called "*deliverance*". These churches are commonly referred to as "***Deliverance Ministries***". It is possible that one may find the two aspects in the same ministry with different degrees of emphasis.

²⁰Personal interview with Otabil, 28.9.93

²¹See Gifford 1994. Agyin Asare of World Miracle Bible Church, was converted in the Church of Pentecost. Anaba, Broken Yoke Foundation, was converted through Duncan Williams.

²²The Imminence of Christ's coming is less pronounced among the neo-pentecostals. They tend to emphasise more the healing, saving, and baptising aspects of Christ's ministry. This may be due to their overriding concern for the material and physical well-being of the believer. We will say more on this later.

The *Abundant Life Ministries*

The major churches belonging to this category and their approximate numerical strength as at September 1993 are²³: *ICGC: International Central Gospel Church* 4600

CAFM: Christian Action Faith Ministry 4000

GOC: Grace Outreach Church 3200

VBC: Victory Bible Church 2300

Others are Global Revival Church, led by Ampia Kwofie; and Light House Fellowship, Korle Bu, led by Heward Mills, a medical officer. All these churches are based in Accra. There are other ministries in other parts of the country, like *World Miracle Crusade* of Agyin Asare, based in Tamale, and Joseph Anaba's *Broken Yoke Foundation*, based in Bolgatanga²⁴. There are also scores of these churches in Kumasi. These include *Calvary Charismatic Church*, led by Ransford Obeng;²⁵ Owusu Achiaw's *Come Preach Christ*, Amoako's *Resurrection Power Evangelistic Ministry*, and Ola's *Harvesters*. These churches are smaller. There are several other smaller groups in the country whose congregational numerical strength varies between 50 and 300. These ministries are primarily urban. Some became churches in the course of their development, e.g., the late Amoako's *Resurrection Power Evangelistic Ministry*, and Ampia Kwofie's *Global Revival Ministries*. One interesting development is that during the incipient years of the movement, the practice of planting *branch* or "*daughter*" churches was regarded by some as unbiblical. The emphasis was on the building of single 'mega' or large churches. This for example led Duncan Williams to transfer the Tema Branch of his church to the branch pastor, Ben Djin.²⁶ This position has since changed and most of the churches now have

²³The figures used are the approximate church attendance for Sunday services. Because of lack of adequate facilities, these churches, with the exception of CAFM, have two services every Sunday morning.

²⁴These two churches are among those discussed by Gifford (Gifford 1994).

²⁵Obeng has recently seceded from the Assemblies of God. As at October 1993 the differences between him and the AG were still unresolved. It is believed he seceded in order to free himself from organisational controls and bureaucracies.

²⁶This church now operates under the name **Love Tabernacle** (popularly referred to as **Love T**).

several branches.

On the whole, all the various churches seem to preach the *abundant life* message of neo-pentecostalism. As one pastor rightly stated: "The different churches are saying the same thing. The only person who is saying something which others are not saying is Dr Otabil". The present writer shares this view. We will however want to suggest that the theology of the "deliverance ministries" and the way it is being articulated in Ghana today, is a new addition to the theological understanding of Ghanaian pentecostalism.

The Deliverance Ministries

Churches here include the **Fountain of Life Mission**, led by Normanyo, Vagalas' ministry within the Madina Assemblies of God Church, Addae Mensah's **Gospel Light Deliverance Ministry**, based at Orion Cinema, and **Calvary Deliverance and Teaching Ministry**, located at Abeka. These congregations are the major ones. There are other smaller groups, as well as independent deliverance ministers all over the country, who subscribe to the deliverance ministry.²⁷

The leading apostles of the deliverance ministries have their inspiration directly from the Nigerian Pastor, Abraham Chighundu. His two books: *Loose him and let him go* (1991), *Discover to recover* (1993), together with the *Holy Bible*, are the main texts for this group.²⁸ Of the churches which engage in this ministry, Godwin Normanyo's Fountain of Life Mission is the largest. A brief study of his ministry will give us an insight into the nature of ministry of this strand of neo-pentecostalism.

²⁷The SU Prayer Warriors Ministry's (PWM) Healing and Deliverance Workshop of 1993 attracted over 1000 participants. Participants for the first time numbered 580. The majority of the participants came from the major mainline churches: Presbyterian 438; Methodist 358; Roman Catholic 70; AGC 64; COP 44; Baptist 30; Anglican 22; CAC 10; EPC 5; Deeper Life 4. The number of participants from the neo-pentecostal churches ranges between 1 and 3. (Source: PWM summary sheet; see appendix). It is not clear why the main deliverance ministries did not participate. It appears they did not seem to have seen any need for this kind of workshop as they appear to have already established themselves in this kind of ministry.

²⁸Abraham Chighundu was a school mate of Normanyo at Idahosa's Bible school. Agyin Asare's reference to "marine spirits" (page 64 of his book *Miracles*, quoted by Gifford 1994), seems to have a Nigerian influence.

Normanyo and the Fountain of Life Mission

Normanyo was a Presbyterian but later got converted into the Assemblies of God Church. After his A' Level education, he undertook a two-year Bible school education at Idahosa's Bible school. Through this school he earned the Brussels based **International Correspondence Institute's (ICI)**, Associate of Arts Degree in Bible.²⁹ It was during his training at Idahosa's school that he met Abraham Chigbundu.

After his training, he pastored one of the assemblies of Idahosa's Church of God Mission. It was in Nigeria that he was exposed to the deliverance ministry. On his return to Ghana, he worked with Addae Mensah's Gospel Light Deliverance Ministry for some time. Later in 1988, Normanyo started the Fountain of Life Mission with five people he had led to Christ.

By 1993, Normanyo had established four branches of his church, in Takoradi, Tarkwa, Prestea, and Aflao. He has a total of six full time pastors and six part-time pastors.³⁰ In addition, he had about twenty deliverance ministers, ten of which were on the pay roll of the ministry.³¹

The Accra church, as at August 1993, had about 700 regular members.³²

Normanyo's Philosophy of Deliverance

Normanyo has the following as his philosophy of the deliverance ministry:

We believe in deliverance as part of the Salvation package for the liberation of the total man and wholeness in every aspect of life. We believe in systematic deliverance where the client is counselled and taught to exercise his/her God given authority as a child of God to expel spirits holding him/her bound.³³

²⁹ICI is a project of the American Assemblies of God.

³⁰Normanyo's wife serves as an evangelist with the church.

³¹Interview, 22.8.93.

³²Written statement submitted to the present writer by Normanyo. On the numerical strength of the Accra church, my observation suggests that the information provided is fairly accurate.

³³A statement submitted to the present writer after an interview on 22.8.93.

Normanyo believes two-thirds of the ministry of Jesus was deliverance. He teaches that though a Christian cannot be possessed by a demon he can be oppressed or demonised.³⁴ When he was pressed as to whether every Christian needs deliverance, as some people in the deliverance ministry seem to suggest, his response was "Not every Christian needs deliverance, though I will encourage African Christians that because of our background, they should seek deliverance".³⁵

It is thought that through involvement with witchcraft, the traditional medicine man, tribal incisions, naming ceremonies, communal ritual meals, communal traditional festivals, and other cultic activities, one can contract demonic infection. These pre-Christian demonic associations survive conversion and become agents of demonic bondage. For the believer to enjoy *abundant life*, this pre-Christian past must be investigated and exorcised. This has been vividly portrayed by Kwame Ansong, the SU administrator in Kumasi, thus:

One does not need deliverance to be totally saved, but the believer needs deliverance from some particular things. What are some of these particular things? It is difficult to describe these particular things. It looks like we in Africa, Ghana in particular, have a problem which beats the mind because it looks like for everything, even the smallest thing in our home there is something spiritual about it - names given to us, places we visit, and so on. These have some spiritual connotations and they hamper our spiritual growth in Jesus Christ. For example, most Akans (and Ghanaians in general) get a mark on the cheek when they are born. That thing, we have come to realise has spiritual connotation which is very enormous. There are people who are born twins. In Ghana a small "fetish" (*abamo*) is made for them. That has a spiritual power to protect the twins. The one after the twins is called *Tawia*, he also gets something. *Nyankomago*, the second after the twins also gets something. From dealing with these people, we have come to realise that you meet a twin, *Nyankomago*, or *Tawia* who has a problem. You discuss it with him, you trace it and you find that it has its beginning from the *abamo* or that small "fetish". We pray and break the connection between that "fetish" and the *Tawia* or the *Atta* (the twin). We find out that they begin to experience a new lease of life. We have family "fetishes". Every Akan family has got a "fetish". At the moment I do not go to the "fetish" house but when the head of

³⁴This is the classic view of the Assemblies of God on demon possession.

³⁵Interview, 25.8.93. "**Background**" here refers to African Traditional Religion and certain traditional practices.

my family (my father's brother) goes to the shrine and prays for the whole family, he prays for my father too and my mother too, and all of us are prayed for at the shrine. So somehow the powers behind this shrine cover me. So that if I want to be free from these things then I might seek to break that connection. So there are a lot of things in our homes we might not consider important but they have created these bonds which must definitely be broken. I did not say they affect salvation, but somehow they affect our ministry, our lives - making us live miserable lives. But when they are broken then you see people begin to have new lease of life.³⁶

Aetiological Categories: The Supernatural Factor

In diagnosing clients' cases, the deliverance ministers are not interested in the art of diagnosis based upon delineating regularities of symptom complexes. Their main concern is on aetiological distinctions, the supernatural or natural explanation of the problem. Supernatural causes are however seen as ultimate causes of clients' problem.

Intensive counselling is required before the deliverance takes place. This is to allow the deliverance minister or team to identity the exact supernatural source of the problem of the suppliant. For example, it is taught that some spirits can leave some "deposits" in certain parts of the human body, for example, the breasts and the genital organs. Before one can be completely set free in order to enjoy abundant life, this "yoke" must of necessity be exorcised through intensive counselling followed by an *"agreement prayer"*.³⁷

Activities of the Fountain of Life Mission

The major emphases of the various meetings of Fountain of Life, with the exception of the one on Sundays, seem to be on deliverance. The deliverance is normally done by a deliverance minister or a deliverance team. The deliverance

³⁶ By Kwame Ansong (SU administrator - Kumasi), quoted by Adubofuor, Ph.D thesis, 257.

³⁷ This involves agreeing "with the client and taking a stand on behalf of the client to expel the spirit" (interview with Normanyo). This agreement prayer is considered important because it is believed man as a moral agent has a part to play in his deliverance.

session, which takes a long time, is done mainly through prayer and the laying on of hands either by the deliverance minister or by the client him/herself in case of certain sensitive areas. Signs of its efficacy may include vomiting, spitting, unconsciousness, screaming, weeping, loud cries, jumping, and other extreme motor reactions. It is believed these signs are indicative of the departure of certain spirits from the client. Deliverance in this instance is not simply exorcism, it goes beyond to mean freeing a person from both bad habits and spiritual forces which militate against his or her total prosperity in Christ".³⁸

The Fountain of Life Mission, like other deliverance churches, maintains special "*deliverance grounds*" at the Achimota Forest. This is where most of the deliverance activities take place.

One interesting thing about Normanyo's church is that the normal Sunday service is like any well organised evangelical pentecostal meeting. A well structured Adult Sunday school precedes the main service.³⁹ It is taught by competent Sunday school teachers. The actual Sunday morning preaching (normally done by Normanyo) has more biblical content than most of the churches the present writer is familiar with. This is an indication that the deliverance aspects of their ministry is different from that of the normal church service.

Deliverance and Traditional Culture

Normanyo's group, like other deliverance ministries, coming from the evangelical pentecostal perspective have adopted a critical position towards certain traditional practices, which are considered to be detrimental towards one's spiritual, social and economic well-being. The deliverance ministers operate from the basic presupposition that because of the depravity of human nature, not every part of human "*Culture*" is good. Certain aspects are tainted with evil and are demonic. The attitude to the aspects considered demonic is outright rejection, for they are considered as negative factors to the realisation of abundant life.

³⁸Normanyo, interview, 22.8.93.

³⁹Adult Sunday school is not practised by most of the neo-pentecostals.

A segment of the leadership of the neo-pentecostals have some reservations about certain aspects of the deliverance ministry (like the touching of the breasts of ladies⁴⁰). Some argue that their emphasis engenders fear in their clients instead of boldness.⁴¹ Normanyo, however, strongly believes that the deliverance ministry is important for the church and the believer and that it has its rootage in the Bible.⁴²

Perhaps a closer association will foster unity between the two strands of the movement. After all, they all preach the *abundant life* gospel. One interesting thing is that members from various churches, including the neo-pentecostal churches, attend the deliverance sessions.⁴³

The deliverance ministries re-interpret African traditional past in the context of their evangelical-pentecostalist faith in an attempt to bring what is considered as "Salvation" or "abundant life" to their clients. Their African traditional understanding of the spirit world, and the evangelical-pentecostal spirituality particularly its theology of demonology, underpin the spirituality of the deliverance ministries.

Evaluation of Neo-Pentecostalism

One thing that is clear from the various leaders of the neo-pentecostal churches is their strong sense of God's call: a sense of mission to bring the message of hope, and deliverance from poverty, sickness, ignorance, inferiority complex, and mental enslavement to the present generation. Duncan Williams affirms

⁴⁰I did not observe this at Normanyo's prayer grounds. His emphases on holiness and purity do seem to suggest that under no circumstances will he permit this to be done by any of his assistants. When it was suggested to him that certain aspects of the practices of the deliverance team need improvement, he readily saw the wisdom in that.

⁴¹Pastor Abode Spencer of Grace Outreach Church is among those who hold this view.

⁴² The key biblical texts being: Lk. 4:18 ff cf. Isa. 61; Mark 16; Lk. 11:13.

⁴³When this present writer visited Rev Normanyo's "*Deliverance Grounds*" at the Achimota Forest he met members from the International Central Gospel Church, Action Faith Ministry, Assemblies of God, the Church of Pentecost, the Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church, and members of several other pentecostal and non pentecostal churches seeking "deliverance".

I believe that God has raised me as a leader and example to my generation about His goodness, mercy and prosperity. I do always remember from where God picked me. ... He took me out of the miry clay and put my feet upon the rock to stay.⁴⁴

Duncan Williams is not alone in this strong sense of divine mission. Otabil declares:

...When I was called into the ministry, one of the things the Lord led me to do was to liberate my people from mental slavery through the preaching of the Gospel and to lift up the image of the black man so as to be a channel of blessing to the nations of the world.⁴⁵

For these leaders, salvation is not complete without the message of hope and deliverance. In other words, healing and deliverance is part of the message of salvation. For the leaders of neo-pentecostalism, like their forbears, the key factor for entering into the ministry, and for the establishment of new independent churches, is the "*Call of God*" and the understanding of *Scripture*. Since it is believed the call of God inevitably comes with a specific direction into a particular form of ministry, the proliferation of different churches we see in the country today is thus given a biblical foundation. In this regard, Lamin Sanneh has perceptively suggested that the "message of the independent churches is that the biblical message had such an impact that denominational boundaries had no relevance".⁴⁶

The fact that neo-pentecostalism has become a major Christian factor in the country and that it is making an indelible impact on the society, particularly on the younger generation, few people will deny. Its impact on the political and social arena has been noticeable. We have noted that Otabil serves on the National Commission on Culture. Otabil's taped messages are listened to by high ranking officials at the Castle. It is believed Rawlings himself listens to these tapes (This was confirmed by Miss Nancy Enin, a former private secretary attached to Rawlings office). Between 1989 and 1991 the Ghana Broadcasting requested the ICGC to cover the annual Easter service. Duncan Williams was involved in the 1992 thanksgiving service for the

⁴⁴Duncan-Williams 1990. *Destined to Succeed*, 155f.

⁴⁵*Beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia*, 18.

⁴⁶Contained in a paper given at the University of Edinburgh, New College, during the conference on **The Churches and the Missionary Movement**, organised by CSCNWW and Yale Divinity School, 29th September - 1 October 1994.

inauguration of the Fourth Republic, which was organised by David Hammond of the Bible Society of Ghana. Again on 30th January 1994 when the Ghana Pentecostal Council organised a thanksgiving service to mark the first anniversary of the inauguration of the Fourth Republic Duncan Williams was designated to pray for Rawlings. The Charismatic Churches Football Association, comprising 15 major charismatic churches (including Action, Central, Victory, and Grace) on 5th March 1994 held a gala competition at Accra Sports Stadium for **Help Age Ghana**. This was another aspect of the social involvement of the Pentecostals.

Can the neo-pentecostals be legitimately referred to as independent indigenous churches, or are their theology and finances hooked to the North American faith preachers? To what extent could it be said that the message of the neo-pentecostal preachers have been influenced by North American prosperity gospel? What is the essence of the so called "prosperity gospel"? Is this a foreign element in African Christianity as Gifford has suggested? These and related questions will be the focus of the following section.

The Indigenous Church

We will define an indigenous church as one which is *self-financing, self-governing, self-propagating, and self-theologising*. We therefore examine the Ghanaian neo-pentecostal churches from this perspective.

The Theology of the Neo-Pentecostals

One may suggest that foreign preachers like Oral Roberts, Kenneth Hagin, Benson Idahosa, T.L. Osborn, Paul (now David) Yonggi Cho, John Avancini, Morris Cerullo, Derek Prince, Fred Price, Lester Sumrall, Gordon Lindsey, Rebecca Brown, Kenneth Copeland, and Benny Hinn, are among those who have directly or indirectly influenced the thinking of the Ghanaian neo-pentecostal preachers. It appears, however, those that have influenced their theological thinking are Oral Roberts, Kenneth Hagin, and Morris Cerullo.

The principle of "*seed faith*" as a means of having one's needs met originates with Oral Roberts. Oral Roberts' influence on the Ghanaian scene can be traced to his

regular partners' letter, his books, and his TV broadcasts.⁴⁷

Until recently, Oral Roberts was in communication with several people in Ghana through his regular letters to his *partners*. Some of his books and his magazine *Abundant Life* were also sent to his partners on request. Oral Roberts also featured prominently on GBC-TV every Sunday evening from 6-7 pm from the late 1970s. Though his broadcasts ceased in 1982 his popularity did not wane in the minds of his admirers.⁴⁸ One of Oral Roberts' disciples is the Nigerian Benson Idahosa. Both Idahosa and his wife have been awarded honorary doctorates by the Oral Roberts University.⁴⁹ Several people from Ghana, including Duncan Williams, James Saah,⁵⁰ Seth Abbey, and Agyin Asare, have gone through Idahosa's Bible school. During Oral Roberts' visit to Ghana in 1988, he was accompanied by Idahosa.⁵¹ Duncan Williams' theological thinking on "*seed-faith*" seems to have had its roots in the Oral Roberts *seed-faith* principle.

Kenneth Hagin's influence on the thinking of the neo-pentecostal preachers has been profound. Otabil for instance confirms Hagan's influence on his thinking. At the beginning of the ministries of most of the neo-pentecostal preachers, their preaching/teaching followed the emphasis of Haggan's positive confession ("*You can have what you say*") teaching. His books and messages on audio tapes have been the

⁴⁷Oral Roberts University was another source of influence. Much as many young Ghanaians had the dream of going to ORU, few people were eventually able to make it particularly because of its costs.

⁴⁸*West Africa* July 25 1988 edition reports that Oral Roberts' visit to Ghana in 1988 attracted a huge and euphoric crowd at the Accra Sports Stadium. As early as 3 pm, many had started gathering for the programme scheduled for 7 pm. It is believed about 70000 people, mostly youth, turned up for the meeting.

⁴⁹This University is considered as the premier charismatic/pentecostal university. It seems to have successfully combined "academic excellence" and "spiritual anointing".

⁵⁰James Saah is the resident pastor of Duncan-Williams' action faith Church in Accra. He was the personal assistant of Idahosa for sometime before he was seconded to CAFM.

⁵¹Oral Roberts preached at Duncan Williams' International Worship Centre of the Christian Action Faith Ministries. He and Idahosa laid hands on Duncan Williams and prayed for him.

main sources of influence.

Morris Cerullo's influence has come basically through the School of Ministry. He believes God has called him to "Build an Army" and the answer to this is his short term ministerial training programme. His programme is not meant to prepare critical thinkers or prepare social analysts. Rather, it aimed primary at preparing zealous church planters. His emphasis has been on the experiential. He was thus overtly critical of theological seminaries, for Cerullo sees them as nothing more than "theological cemeteries". His popular slogan: "have the experience" became the battle cry of preachers like Agyin Asare and Obeng Darko. Agyin Asare, a product of Morris Cerullo's School of Ministry, and many others, uncritically adopted the anti seminary attitude of Cerullo until recently.⁵²

Whereas the influence of Oral Roberts cuts across the various church traditions in the country, Kenneth Hagin's influence was predominantly on the neo-pentecostals. Some within the classic pentecostal churches considered aspects of his teachings as unbalanced. Morris Cerullo's influence through his School of Ministry is also widespread since his emphasis on evangelism and the Holy Spirit belong to pentecostalism as a whole.

T.L. Osborne has had a very long contact with the Ghanaian pentecostal movement. Though his tapes on healing and his other teachings are patronised by the neo-pentecostals, Osborne's ministry in Ghana was primarily among the classic pentecostals.⁵³ His theology belongs to mainstream pentecostalism.

Reinhard Bonnke's teachings also belong to classic pentecostalism. All his major meetings in Ghana were hosted by the Ghana Pentecostal Council. An examination of his messages reveals that his theological and practical emphases are no different from what the pentecostals teach.⁵⁴

⁵²Interestingly, Agyin Asare, who is believed to have recently been awarded two honorary doctorates, is reported to have inaugurated a Bible school during which he "stressed the need for pastors to be trained" (Gifford 1994, 259).

⁵³ We have written in an earlier chapter that his crusades in the early 1960s and also his support of indigenous workers.

⁵⁴After analyzing the messages of Bonnke's 1986 *"Fire Conference"* Gifford admits that Bonnke's movement belongs to the "Pentecostal camp" and that its heavy

Yonggi Cho's major influence on the neo-pentecostals comes primarily from his book *The Fourth Dimension*.⁵⁵ The ideas expressed here are essentially the same as Kenneth Hagin's "you can have what you say" teaching. Cho's overall influence on the pentecostal movement in Ghana comes from his home cell dynamics. His manual on this subject is used by both the classic pentecostals and the neo-pentecostals.⁵⁶

The teachings of Kenneth Copeland⁵⁷ and other faith preachers like Idahosa, are basically the same as the position espoused by Oral Roberts and Hagin, so none of these seem to have made any major distinctive contribution to the theological thinking of the Ghanaian faith preachers.⁵⁸

It seems that at the beginning of the ministries of the neo-pentecostals,⁵⁹ the

stress on healings and demonology are probably related to its African context". He suggests however that anything distinctively African is being (or soon will be, particularly after the Fire Conference) more than neutralised by the American connection" (Gifford 1987, 78f.). A careful examination of Bonnke's crusades after the 1986 Fire Conference reveals that his emphasis on praying for the baptism of the Holy Spirit, healing, demonology, salvation from sin, the efficiency and effectiveness of the name and the blood of Jesus for both spiritual and material needs, have remained basically the same even when he is speaking to his European audience (See 1988 EuroFire). Since this is essentially the same message of the pentecostals, his ministry does not seem to have in any way distinctively influenced the theology and praxis of the Pentecostal movement in Ghana.

⁵⁵*The fourth dimension 1: The key to putting your faith to work for a successful life.* South Plainfield, NJ: Bridge Publishing, 1983. *The fourth dimension 11: More secrets for a successful faith life.* South Plainfield, NJ: Bridge, 1983.

⁵⁶The Church of Pentecost introduced the home cell idea into the church in April 1993. The main manual was that which Cho has developed. The ICGC equally uses aspects of Cho's materials on home cell for its "Covenant Families".

⁵⁷Copeland is a disciple of Oral Roberts.

⁵⁸This is not to rule out the fact that the ministries of these men and women have somehow inspired some of the neo-pentecostal preacher. For example Tackie Yarboi of Victory Bible Church confirms that his church, (Victory Bible Church), ICGC, and Grace Outreach Church, have drawn inspiration from Kenneth Copeland's materials on wedding ceremonies.

⁵⁹For example, Duncan Williams, Otobil, Tackie Yarboi, Michael Essel, Amphia Kwofie.

leadership received inspiration from some of the American faith preachers, particularly Oral Roberts, Kenneth Hagin, and Morris Cerullo, since apparently there were no local mentors apart from Idahosa. However, in the process of time, most of the Ghanaian leaders seem to have developed their own theological distinctives in addition to the normal evangelical-pentecostal spirituality. Otabil for example confirms that somewhere around 1985 he decided not to preach the messages of Kenneth Hagin any more. This was the time he felt he needed to develop his own theological thinking.⁶⁰ The ideas enshrined in his *Four laws of productivity* and *Beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia* were incubated after this break. A look at the sermons preached by Otabil and other ministers of ICGC from 1986 to 1993 gives credence to this fact.

Self-government & Self-propagation

All the neo-pentecostal churches in Ghana are self-governing. None is the branch of North American or any western church. They were born out of indigenous initiative. Otabil's position on this exemplifies what seems to be the general perspective.⁶¹ These churches are also self-propagating. They plan, direct and execute their own evangelistic activities.

The Finances of Neo-Pentecostalism

On financing, it appears, the predominant view held by many, both in the west and perhaps among individuals in the mainline churches in Ghana, is that the neo-pentecostal churches are dependent upon the West for funding.⁶² Our investigations on the Ghanaian scene reveal that all the leading neo-pentecostal churches are self-supporting. Otabil, Duncan Williams, Tackie Yarboi, Michael Essel, Ampiaaw Kwofie,

⁶⁰Interview, 30.09.93.

⁶¹See chapter eight for a discussion of Otabil's views on this and other related issues.

⁶²For example in the Liberian situation, Gifford (1993) documents that the faith gospel churches receive massive financial and material support from America. On the Ghanaian scene, some members of the mainline churches simply assume that this is the case. Perhaps this is indicative of their own addiction to western aid.

all have a strong emphasis on indigenous financing. The same could be said of most of the other churches.⁶³

There may well be some smaller churches in the country who still receive some external financial help. When the leaders of what seemed like neo-pentecostal churches were being interviewed in 1993 for admission into the Ghana Pentecostal Council (the present writer was privileged to attend), perhaps two of the leaders who came indicated that they were trying to raise some funds from the west to help finance certain projects.⁶⁴ Another example is Ransford Obeng's Central Charismatic Church which, until its recent secession, was a branch of the Assemblies of God. This church, located in Kumasi, has a membership of about 500. It is believed it receives some support from a church in Singapore. It does not seem, however, that Ransford Obeng's church is entirely dependent upon external financial support for its operations.

Using the concepts of self-supporting, self-propagating, self-governing, self-theologising, as an index for determining the indigeneity of the Ghanaian neo-pentecostal churches we conclude that the movement, on a whole, is an indigenous movement.

Neo-Pentecostalism and The Prosperity Gospel

The next question we have to address is whether the message of the neo-pentecostals represents the so called "*Prosperity Gospel*". Gifford summarises the essentials of this gospel thus:

The essential point of this Gospel of Prosperity is that prosperity of all kinds is the right of every Christian. God wants a Christian to be wealthy. True Christianity necessarily means wealth; it inevitably brings wealth. Conversely, poverty indicates personal sin, or at least

⁶³It is possible that some members of these churches who travel overseas may send in some gifts occasionally. Such occasional gifts, are in fact negligible in their total impact.

⁶⁴These churches are relatively small. The present writer had not heard of them prior to this interview.

a deficient faith or inadequate understanding.⁶⁵

Gifford notes that the prosperity gospel "is not taught by all these evangelists, or at least not with the same insistence, but it is becoming a fairly standard part of Africa's revival". He believes this gospel is a new and foreign element in Africa's evangelical christianity.⁶⁶

The present writer prefers the term *Abundant Life Gospel* to the term "*Prosperity Gospel*" or "*Wealth and Health Gospel*". The term **prosperity gospel** as understood by some has some strange ideas that don't seem to predominate in the teachings of the neo-pentecostals in Ghana. (There may be some few exceptions among the smaller churches which the present writer is not aware of.) Strange and simplistic ideas like "Every Christian must be rich"; "If you are not rich then it means you are either not walking in faith or you are living in sin"; "name it and claim it gospel" and similar ideas which have come to be associated with the so called *prosperity gospel*, are not taught by the leading neo-pentecostal leaders in the country. Though Duncan Williams admits that he preaches prosperity with no apology, as he seems to indicate in his book *Destined to Succeed*, and which Gifford has noted,⁶⁷ Duncan Williams does not seem to espouse the strange ideas mentioned above. It is not at all clear what is meant by "wealth" or "prosperity" when dealing with this subject. For some, "wealth" and "prosperity" suggest the possession of a fleet of expensive cars, a \$5000 gold Rolex wrist watch, expensive clothes, living in a multi-roomed house, and similar notions.⁶⁸ When the group here talks about wealth, they seem to talk of a situation of "*absolute wealth*", or "*absolute prosperity*" (where one's income exceeds all his needs: basic essentials, social expectations and desire consumption). For some, "wealth" or "prosperity" is simply having decent or

⁶⁵Paul Gifford 1990. Prosperity: A New and Foreign Element in African Christianity. *Religion* 20: 375.

⁶⁶Ibid., 374.

⁶⁷Gifford 1994, 243f.

⁶⁸Gifford identifies the North American tele-evangelists and their African associates like Idahosa as belonging to this category (See Gifford 1990 cf. Gifford 1993. *Christianity and Politics in Doe's Liberia*. Cambridge: CUP, pages 146-1 89.

comfortable living, i.e. enough food to eat, decent place to live, a decent means of transport, and a decent clothing. It is the ability to live a happy and a balanced life without the problem of having to think of what to eat, where to sleep, what to wear; how to meet one's social expectations, like school fees, children's education; and the ability to contribute to the needs of one's community.

It may be that in the past both positions have been espoused in the Ghanaian situation.⁶⁹ At *present* the version of the "prosperity gospel" which seems to be propagated by the neo-pentecostals seems to be the more moderate type. The message must, however, be placed within the socio-economic realities of the country and the traditional concept of life for it to be appreciated.

We have indicated in the first chapter of this thesis that the enjoyment of abundant life, financial and material security, fertility, health, and protection are the primal aspirations of the Akan of Ghana, and that the same may be said of other African peoples.⁷⁰ These things are the ultimate end sought by African traditional religion. The prosperity gospel therefore constitutes a synthesis of some elements of the traditional understanding of viable life, and what is perceived as biblical teachings on abundant life. Michael Essel quoting from Joshua 1:8, states that:

We can see clearly, over here in Joshua 1:8 that *it is the will of God for us to prosper!* If God did not want us to prosper, why should He teach us how to prosper? *It is a fact that prosperity is the will of God for all His people! God wants us to prosper in our spiritual life, in our*

⁶⁹Pastor Abode Spencer of Grace Outreach Church mentions that in the past some people within the neo-pentecostal movement seemed to have espoused the extreme view. The President of the Ghana Pentecostal Council, S.B. Asore, in 1989 "cautioned pastors to beware of the "prosperity gospel which is going the rounds today, and to strive to make the full-time ministry honourable" (Pentecost Fire 1989, issue 88, 15). This statement by Asore at least gives an indication that not every one within the GPC was comfortable with the so called prosperity gospel, and that there were certain elements of the gospel which were considered to be "dishonourable to the ministry". In any case, it does not seem any of the neo-pentecostals in the country are absolutely rich, even if some aspire to be.

⁷⁰See chapter 1 of this thesis. Also see: Cyril Okorochoa 1987. *Religious Conversion in Africa*, especially chapters 2 and 7; Christian R. Gaba, "Man's salvation: its nature and meaning in African Traditional religion" in Fasole-Luke, et al, eds. Mbiti has made similar observations which we have already referred to in the first chapter of this project.

*marital life, child upbringing, profession, business and any other part of our lives!*⁷¹

Quoting from Proverbs 10:22 and Genesis 12:2-3 he continues

that:

This verse is talking about the effect that God's blessings can have on our lives. It says that *whenever the blessing of God comes upon a life, it has that powerful effect of transforming that individual, even if he is poor, making him rich.*

...The blessing of God came upon Abraham and made him rich! The Bible did not say that Abraham became rich spiritually. ... You see when you get blessed by God, that blessing will show in every aspect of your life, even as far as material possessions are concerned!⁷²

*Listen! The times are changing! The times when believers were looked down upon, considered as downtrodden, and nobodies in society are past and gone! The time has come for people to look at believers, and look at them twice! God is blessing His people, and that blessing is causing them prosper!*⁷³

Again, Essel, quoting from one of the classic texts of the abundant life message:

Beloved, I wish above all things that thou mayest prosper and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth" (3 Jn. 2),

states in no uncertain term that:

God wants you above all things to prosper! God's desire for you above your schooling, above your degrees, above all your ups and downs, and above all your connections, is that you prosper and be in health even as thy soul prospereth. ... Don't spiritualise prosperity. What the Bible is telling us in this verse is that after we have prospered in our souls, God wants us to prosper again in another realm. Apart from the spiritual the only other realm we have is the physical.⁷⁴

Essel's position on what the neo-pentecostals perceive as the biblical teaching on prosperity is essentially what the other neo-pentecostals and classic pentecostal preachers teach. For them prosperity means a decent and respectable living, as the

⁷¹Michael Essel 1993. *3 Things to do with the Word to Prosper*. Accra: Grace Outreach Church, 1.

⁷²Ibid., 3.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid., 3f.

following statement by Essel seems to suggest:

You can make it in Ghana. You can breakthrough in Ghana. You can buy any gadget in Ghana. You can buy an air-conditioner, fridge, house, car, and what have you, in Ghana. You need not go abroad before you acquire these things. He says you will prosper [wherever] you may be!⁷⁵

Essel's use of the singular "*air-conditioner*", "*car*", "*fridge*", "*house*" seems to suggest how the ordinary Ghanaian understands the so called prosperity gospel. The things Essel refers to here are things that are not within easy reach in Ghana even to the professional worker, not to mention the ordinary worker. The irony is that if an unskilled worker manages to travel to any of the more affluent western countries, and somehow manages to secure an unskilled job, as many of them do, the things which hitherto were only available to the "privileged few", now become affordable and available with some amount of determination and diligence. This is the one single factor that leads majority of Ghanaians to aspire to travel to the west. It is from this kind of context that the so called prosperity gospel makes sense to the majority of the people.⁷⁶

Social Analysis of the Neo-Pentecostal Movement

The fact that the neo-pentecostal movement is making a great impact upon the youth segment of the society few people will deny, but it would be mistaken to believe that the youth are the only people attracted to the movement. Two hundred of the ICGC (Accra) members we interviewed, indicated that the main thing that they like about the church is its "teachings".⁷⁷

⁷⁵Ibid., 5.

⁷⁶See Gerrie ter Haar's article "**Strangers in the Promised Land: African Christians in Europe**. *Exchange* vol 24, 1995, no.1. Almost exclusively, "these strangers" are in the "land that flows with milk and honey" left Ghana mainly for economic reasons. Though a few of these strangers may claim to have fled Ghana because of political persecution, the truth lies elsewhere.

⁷⁷This is 5% of 4000 which was the approximate figure of the total membership then. The response we got from them was as follows: Teaching 169; any other 20; salvation of the soul 7; prayer 2; prosperity 2. The other responses were: healing, evangelism, holiness, and social service.

Many people changed their church to join ICGC mainly because they needed "Christ centred-worship", biblical teaching, and protection.⁷⁸ Most of the members came from the main line churches.⁷⁹ Most of them came through an invitation by some one. They attend church meetings more than once in a week. The church attracts a fairly literate audience,⁸⁰ mostly youth, most of whom are in gainful employment;⁸¹ and the majority of these are unmarried.⁸² The forgoing gives us a fair idea of the social composition of the organisation.⁸³

⁷⁸This is based on our survey of 200 ICGC members. The details are as follows: In need of Christ-centred worship 96; in need of biblical teaching 61; in need of security/ fortification 10. Other reasons 31; family pressure 2. The other variables were: need for healing, need for material prosperity, marriage.

⁷⁹Of the 200 members (Accra Church) we interviewed, 51 came from the Methodist church, 45 from the Presbyterian Church, 21 from Roman Catholic, 20 from Anglican, 31 from other neo-pentecostal churches, 14 from Evangelical Presbyterian Church, 2 from Islam, 2 from Jehovah's Witnesses, 1 from classic pentecostal, the rest from various backgrounds including spiritual churches. None came from African Traditional Religion.

⁸⁰Of the 200 people we interviewed from the Accra ICGC church, no one had less than primary school education. 14 from primary school, 71 from university and college background (this includes commercial colleges), 115 from secondary/technical background.

⁸¹Our survey of the 200 members reveals that about 43 of them had various jobs from ordinary clerks to clerical officers; 45 of them were students; 57 of them belong to the lower management grade; 29 belong to top level management, 21 were involved in peasant farming and petty trading, and 5 were unemployed.

⁸²Our survey gives the following figures: singles 127; married 63; divorce 7; widow/er 3.

⁸³In future when similar surveys are conducted for some of the other neo-pentecostal churches, these will give us a fair idea of the social composition of the movement as a whole.

Outsiders' Assessment of the Movement

The Views of the Historic Churches

The relationship with the mainline churches is "rather cool".⁸⁴ It appears one of the main reasons is that

the mainline churches are very suspicious of the independent charismatic churches because the latter recruit their members mainly from the ranks of the former. Hence the term "sheep stealing" is used by the mainline churches to describe the evangelistic strategies of the independent charismatic churches.⁸⁵

The other factor that may have contributed to this coolness is perhaps the diatribes of some of the leaders of the movement about the established churches.

Cephas Omenyo has indicated that the neo-pentecostal churches "face major difficulties in the area of leadership". He then goes on to list five main areas which he considers to be of difficulty.⁸⁶ We will mention three items from his list for comment.

1. A predominantly youthful leadership. Since great respect is given to adults in Ghanaian society, youthful leaders have the problem of not being accepted in the society.

2. The leaders lack acceptability in the society because they do not have formal theological training but assume clerical titles even prior to theological training.

3. The western lifestyle in the leadership of the churches with respect to preaching and dress, the use of American slang and the imitation of American evangelists like Morris Cerullo and Kenneth Hagin make the wider society suspicious.

It is true that in Ghanaian society respect is accorded to elders but the "Religious leader", whether young or old, is one of the key personalities within the traditional Ghanaian society. Several are highly revered because of the role they play as mediators between the living and the spirit world. The office of the traditional

⁸⁴Gifford 1994, 258.

⁸⁵Cephas Omenyo, *Charisma* vol. 16 no.2 Fall 1994. The charismatic renewal movement in Ghana, 183. Rev Omenyo is a Minister with the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 184-185.

priest is also associated with "healing, exorcism, divination, diagnosis, and the restoration of wholeness of ill or disturbed persons".⁸⁷ So far as the traditional priest is able to fulfil this role, both old and young within the community recognise his/her authority as a religious leader. Recognition is given to them, because there are visible evidence like spirit possession, exorcism, divination, diagnosis, healing, etc, which authenticate their claims. The neo-pentecostal leaders do not seem to have any problem in this regard. They seem to have no doubt in their minds recognising their authority and the source of that authority. For them the pastor/minister

Is a person whom God has called and *equipped with power* to be in the local church and lead the flock of God. [He] is to teach and lead the church by example; to love and *watch over the souls of the believers*; to present them blameless unto the Lord at his coming; to prepare the believers for the work of the ministry; and to visit and help the flock in marriage, jobs, funerals, etc. ... The pastor is God's gift for the believer, therefore his ministry must be received, respected and appreciated, *because he speaks the oracles of God to build up the believers*⁸⁸.

Atiemo, who like Omenyo, is a Presbyterian minister, seems to have well understood the issues at stake here when he states:⁸⁹

The average lay-man is often ignorant about what the church actually teaches about certain important issues relating to everyday life and peculiar to our culture. The agents, ministers included in most cases fail to give authoritative guidance to the faithful, but the charismatic movement seeks to provide answers to the puzzles of existence; and give guidance to the modern man who searches in vain for a clear purpose in life.⁹⁰

Here seems to lie the secret of the success of the neo-pentecostal ministers. It is true that the leadership of the neo-pentecostal churches are predominantly young, yet they do not seem to have any doubt at all in their minds when they present themselves as agents of the Most High God. Since most of them are effectively

⁸⁷Lartey 1986, 75.

⁸⁸ICGC *Discipleship manual*, n.d. Supporting the vision, 30f. Emphasis mine.

⁸⁹He was accusing the leaders of the mainline churches of failing to give authoritative guidance to their flock.

⁹⁰Atiemo 1993, 33.

meeting the needs of the people, real or imagined, they seem to be playing the role of the traditional religious leader, or the biblical *"Man of God"*. Their words are thus taken by their followers as *oracles of God*.

If they lack acceptability because of their age, why is it that thousands throng to their churches every Sunday? This does not happen only in one church, in which case it might be considered as an exception rather than the rule; rather, several churches in many parts of the country can identify with this. It is true that when these churches were started the membership was mainly young. However, in the process of time, these leaders seem to have proved their worth. This has broadened their support base.⁹¹

Good theological education has its role in the church; the problem, however, is when it becomes an end in itself. To indicate that the leadership of the neo-pentecostal churches lacks acceptability "in the society" just because "they do not have formal theological education", is to fail to recognise what is actually taking place.

It does not seem that the majority of the people are looking for theological degrees from the ministers of the church before they are given recognition. What the majority of Christians are looking for is the ability of their leaders to help them in their struggles, fears and aspirations.

If "in the society" as used by Omenyo refers to some section of the leadership of the mainline churches, then perhaps that may be understandable. If on the other hand it is used in reference to the Ghanaian society as a whole, then it is just not true.

⁹¹We have documented in this chapter the social composition of ICGC which is a fair representation of the major neo-pentecostal churches. Though the movement remains predominantly youth, adult members of the society are fairly represented. The evidence we had from the 200 members we interviewed indicated the following:

	AGE	NO. OF PEOPLE
1.	18-25	64
2.	25-35	80
3.	35-40	16
4.	40-50	26
5.	50+	14

Among the adult membership are bankers, financial managers, lawyers, Administrators, senior army officers, and business directors.

If, for example, a non-academically trained pastor speaks to an average of about 4600 people on Sundays, and an average of 2000 people on Tuesdays, and again teaches a course or two in say Church History and New Testament Survey, in a lay leadership class in which about 200 people participate, and in addition does some counselling and other activities in the course of the week, should this not make those of us who are highly trained, and yet are not able to accomplish a fraction of that, humble?

In spite of the fact that these leaders are not academically trained some of them, through self education, have dared tackled some gigantic theological tasks, which are fundamental to the African experience.⁹² If these leaders are not acceptable in the society, why is it that among other things, they have a large following.

The senior ministers of the neo-pentecostals are known for their well groomed and expensive traditional costumes, not a "western style of dressing" as Omenyo indicates. The preaching style of Otabil, Duncan Williams, Tackie Yarboi, Ampia Kwofie, Obeng Darko, James Saah, Michael Essel, to name but a few, is anything but an imitation of the preaching style of Hagin and Cerullo.

The Classic Pentecostals

Some of the key classic pentecostal leaders think the movement is touching a segment of society which would otherwise not be touched. They think neo-pentecostalism has flourished partly because of complacency among the classic pentecostals. Ato Addison, former General Secretary of the Church of Pentecost, for instance, comments that:

People are not allowed to express their gifts. Growth comes with its problems: when tithes are coming in billions of cedis you sometimes stop thinking about evangelism. So others will take over from you. At times God does pull out certain people to set up certain organisations which fit into His direct plan. God draws men out to make them more

⁹²Otabil's theological reflection on the negritude found in his *Beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia* is the point in mind here. When this book came to the notice of one of Africa's academically trained and respected theologians, his first question was : Can he do it? Has he got the resources to handle that subject? A western theologian also asks: Do you think Otabil did all this himself?

useful.⁹³

Though Ato Addison realises that there may be "some few problems here and there" within the movement, he thinks there is no need to criticise them. He indicates "we lose love by thinking of others as hopeless."

Opoku Onyinah, the International Missions Director of the Church of Pentecost, states:

It may interest you to know that I took time off the last two Sundays [probably in July 1992] to visit two of the well known English Churches in Accra, namely, the International Central Gospel Church (ICGC) and the Christian Action Faith Ministry (CAFM). Apart from worshipping with them, I also seized the opportunity to assess the whole service, the content, congregation, the conducting, and the lessons that can be drawn from them. As some of you, if not all, might be aware, both churches run two sessions on Sunday mornings. At ICGC especially I was, to say the least, very impressed with not only the organisation but also the content of the service. My visit left me with no doubt that they were reaching their generation quite effectively.⁹⁴

The present president of the Ghana Pentecostal Council, the Rev S.B. Asore,⁹⁵ while accepting that the neo-pentecostals are doing a good job, is rather critical about some of their practices and utterances. We have noted elsewhere that he had to warn members of the GPC of the dangers of the so called prosperity gospel.

The General Secretary of GPC, the Rev E. Ayisi, while recognising the growth and expansion of this movement decries the sectarian attitude of some of them. He declares:

The Charismatics should not think they are something new. They came out of us and they are now expanding but they should not think that they have something new or better. It is good for the Pentecostal churches to unite. We are preaching the same thing and we should not

⁹³Interview, 8.7.93.

⁹⁴Address by the IMD, Opoku Onyinah at a meeting with the presbyters of the English Assemblies of the Church of Pentecost, Greater Accra Region "A" held at A.T.T.C. on August 4, 1992.

⁹⁵Rev Asore is also the General Superintendent of the Assemblies of God.

become funny in the eyes of unbelievers.⁹⁶

The Evangelicals

With regard to the evangelicals, Gifford thinks they have almost surrendered to the charismatics.⁹⁷ The fact of the matter is that most of the evangelicals are charismatics.⁹⁸ Dr Tokunboh Adeyemo, the General Secretary of Association of Evangelicals of Africa and Madagascar, who spoke at one of the Campmeetings of ICGC, is himself a pentecostal, an Elder at the Nairobi Pentecostal Church.⁹⁹ Mr Jude Hama, the present General Director of SU is a charismatic.

This does not mean that they are uncritical about the movement. Mr Hama, for instance, thinks while the movement brought in new awareness of the authority of the believer, and boldness in the use of spiritual gifts in the new pentecostal environment, their early beginnings were not deeply rooted in the proper interpretation of the Bible. For them the key for understanding certain biblical passages is "*revelation knowledge*",¹⁰⁰ a popular term among the neo-pentecostals. He also does

⁹⁶Interview, 13.07.93.

⁹⁷Gifford 1994, 258.

⁹⁸The line of demarcation between the pentecostals/ charismatics and the evangelicals is very thin in most African countries. Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, and Sierra Leone are typical examples. On this Ojo 1992, 4, has observed that "... in most parts of Africa, the terms pentecostals, charismatics, and evangelicals are not strictly demarcated. Mobility of members and the participation of members in several activities make any clear separation that could be found in the Western World difficult to maintain".

⁹⁹Adeyemo, Nigerian, has also served as the Chairman of World Evangelical Fellowship for 12 years. The ICGC leadership got to know him through the present writer.

¹⁰⁰This term has its origin among the North American faith preachers. The distinction here is between "*sense knowledge*" and "*revelation knowledge*". The former is used in reference to information that becomes available through the empirical, or what is perceived as "human efforts". The latter is used in reference to what is believed to be some unique understanding of scripture that comes through the agency of the Holy Spirit. Generally this form of knowledge is elevated over and above the so called "*sense knowledge*".

not seem to see as important the phenomenon of "being slain in the spirit" which according to him, is considered by some as the true indicator of who "a man of God is". He decries what he refers to as "name it and claim it" syndrome which was propagated by a section of the movement.¹⁰¹

The General Secretary of the National Association of Evangelicals of Ghana, Mr Kwaku Hutchful is also favourably disposed to the movement and its leadership. He was the MC when Duncan Williams was launching his book: *You are Destined for Success*. He was among those who helped CAFM to develop the present curriculum for the Bible School. Duncan Williams Action Bible School. He is nevertheless not uncritical of some of the excesses of certain segments of the group. Mr David Hammond, the General Secretary of the Bible Society of Ghana serves on the board of governors of Central Christian College.¹⁰² The General Manager of Asempa Press, while admitting that there may some problems which the movement needs to address, he thinks the movement as a whole is doing a good job by drawing the youth into the church. He is particularly happy that the neo-pentecostal have been able to make the cinema halls a place of worship for the youth.

It is not clear what the "Spiritual Churches" think of the neo-pentecostals. The majority of those within the pentecostal movement think the Spiritual churches are not Christian churches and that they dabble in spiritism.

Self-Criticism of Neo-Pentecostal Protagonists

One key layman in one of the leading churches thinks the neo-pentecostals are "deteriorating faster than the classic pentecostals".¹⁰³ A senior minister within the movement complained that the movement was barely ten years old and yet the kind of problems that have begun to plague it are unparalleled in classic pentecostalism. This informant was at a loss to understand the attitude of some of the key leaders who are "treating the churches as private property". The founder of Victory Bible Church

¹⁰¹Interview, 20.9.93.

¹⁰²Mr Hammond is a Methodist lay minister, and also a charismatic.

¹⁰³This lay leader was talking specifically in terms of evangelism, prayer and commitment.

believes the quality of spirituality that was present in the former days of classic pentecostalism seems to be woefully missing in neo-pentecostalism. It seems now people are basically concerned about what they can get from God.¹⁰⁴ Otabil thinks holiness is now "a crucial missing link". He feels emphases are being placed on power and the gifts of the Holy Spirit at the expense of holiness. "Born again" has become fashionable, he suggests. The "proliferation of altars", he indicates, "have provided many places of worship and many opportunities for receiving Christ". It is not therefore uncommon to find within the movement "Christians" connected with "crooked business deals".¹⁰⁵

One junior minister summarises his feelings thus:

They [the neo-pentecostal churches] are now finding their feet. Because of the age of the leadership at that time [the early days of the movement], a lot of mistakes were committed. Instead of seeing themselves as "supplying what was lacking", they saw themselves as "the only suppliers." They came in when things were very dull spiritually. The youth were finding it easier to cope with the world than the church. They came in to redirect the youth. That is their major success. They brought real life into the church. By real life I mean Christianity being practical, cutting across every area of life. The future looks both positive and negative. The future could be disastrous if [some of] the things being done today are not corrected.¹⁰⁶

The majority of insiders see the issue of continuity as the major problem. Some believe the leadership of the movement is yet to develop proper structures which would ensure the smooth transfer of power, should the founders leave the scene unexpectedly.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴Interview, 28th September 1993. Tackie Yarboi was formerly a member of the Apostolic Church.

¹⁰⁵Interview, 1.10.93.

¹⁰⁶Dadson, interview 13.8.93.

¹⁰⁷It appears this has not been done because most of them, if not all, believe that they will fulfil their years (70+) before their death. Like their forebears (McKeown for example), originally most of the leaders denounced the need for a church Constitution, because it was held that man made constitutions do not serve the purpose of God. They argue that the church must be led by the Holy Spirit, not man made constitutions, and that churches governed by constitutions are walking in the flesh.

The need for a church constitution became crucial when Rawlings' PNDC

Real Growth, Recycling, or Sheep stealing?

Some people think that the neo-pentecostals are not growing, but just recycling their members. Unlike the other churches in the country, the major neo-pentecostal churches keep up-to-date computerised information on their members. Some of them, like ICGC, maintain a data base on this.

The various churches in Accra are in close proximity and they all meet almost at the same time. It is not difficult therefore to go around them to check the accuracy of their statistics.

Smaller and less organised neo-pentecostal churches are losing their members to the well established neo-pentecostal churches just as the established churches are losing their membership.

One may argue that the diatribe of Otabil, and perhaps other leaders, against the established churches, asking the born again members to leave them, actually caused an exodus into the main neo-pentecostal churches. The evidence we have seems to suggest otherwise. Not all the neo-pentecostal leaders shared this perspective. Another important observation is that whereas some of the neo-pentecostal leaders preached that born again Christians in the established churches should "come out of them", not everyone within the neo-pentecostal movement believed this.¹⁰⁸

government issued PNDC Law 221, requesting all religious bodies to re-register. It was at this point that most of the neo-pentecostal leaders saw the need for one. Most of the constitutions prepared by the churches at this point reflect the circumstances under which they were prepared. One senior minister in one of the churches commented in an apparently joking way that "Charismatics don't want to show their constitution to any one because they keep on changing things in the constitution". This does not seem to be an exaggeration. The only neo pentecostal leader who seems to have been able to develop a well thought out constitution for his organisation is Tackie Yarboi of Victory Bible Church. The hand of a legal expert is evident.

¹⁰⁸Our survey suggested that the majority of the members of ICGC felt born again Christians in the established churches should remain there to bring about change. The 200 people we interviewed gave the following responses to the question: *"How do you see the renewal movements in the older historic churches, like the 'Bible Study and Prayer Group' in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana?"*

- a. The Bible says "Come out of them ..." so I believe it is not the will of God for these movements to stay in the historic churches. 15
- b. Effective and necessary 89

In Ghana, one of the major problems facing the church is that of nominalism. Whereas about 62% of the population of Ghana are Christians, only about 12% are active church members who attend church regularly. That is to say, about 50% or 8.3 million of the population are nominal Christians. Most of these belong to the established churches.¹⁰⁹ According to the GEC 1993 *National Church Survey*, the period between 1988 and 1993 saw an increase in nominal Christians. Most of these belong to "the older orthodox churches and "Spiritual" churches.¹¹⁰ This seems to be the segment of the population which is turning to the neo-pentecostal churches.

It is therefore most likely that the "nominal Christians" who join the neo-pentecostals are Christians by association only rather than by conversion. The findings based on ICGC may fairly represent the other churches within the neo-pentecostal movement.

Summary and Significance

A group split as a result of authoritarianism, doctrinal nuances, and blatant personality clashes. The structure of neo-pentecostal churches itself seems to engender

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- c. Move of God 32
 - d. I believe unless these so called renewal movements join one of the Pentecostal or Charismatic denominations, they will soon die out. 16
 - e. These movements are a silent revolt against, cold formal religion of the established churches 6
 - f. These movements are true expressions of African spirituality which is rooted in the African/biblical cosmology 2
 - g. Any other 40

This may therefore be an indication that such messages *per se* did not cause any movement of people from the established churches to ICGC.

¹⁰⁹*National Church Survey 1993*, 5, 13.

¹¹⁰From about 48% of the population to about 51% who are nominal Christians represent the segment of the population who claim to be Christians by mere fact of their association with the Christian church, rather than by genuine conversion experience (National Survey 1993, 95).

authoritarianism. Since the leader, as it often happens, is the one whom God gave a vision and mandate to carry out the vision, he by reason of this fact becomes the central figure in the whole drama. Often the control system for containing dissent does not exist or has weak roots.¹¹¹ At times the social gap between the founder and other key ministers creates dissatisfaction among the leadership. All these factors make schism and counter schisms a regular pattern.

A major danger facing the movement is therefore that of fractionalisation. This has already begun to have its toll on the movement. Since almost every inspired person is establishing his or her group, the problem of accountability looms high. To secure the continuity of the movement, the present leadership will do well to establish moral, financial, and doctrinal accountability as part of its operational ethos.¹¹²

Since there are already two main ecumenical groupings within the movement (**Charismatic Ministers Net Work**, led by Otabil,¹¹³ and **Council for Charismatic Churches**, led by Duncan Williams), they should be able to develop a common code of practice for its members.¹¹⁴ They will perhaps want to include in their financial accountability ethos the need to appoint qualified external auditors to audit the accounts of member churches yearly. Perhaps some of them may want to study the experience of older churches like Yeboah Koree's F'Den Church, to learn from their experience, some of the factors that have led to their demise.

The need for a well balanced theological education also needs to be addressed. Gifford has well noted that

Given their friendly relations, their net works, and even their similar

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²We must admit that the issue of doctrinal accountability will be difficult to achieve if not impossible because of the movement's notion of "*revelation knowledge*".

¹¹³CMN was inaugurated on 22nd May 1991. The statement of purpose of this body is found in the appendix.

¹¹⁴Although one of the purposes of the Charismatic Ministers' Network is " To provide a common code of ethics for those fellowshiping in the network, that will give guidance to each leader in his or her relationships within the local Church and the Larger Community", it does not seem any concrete thing has been developed yet.

theology, it is remarkable how much effort each church expends to establish its own Bible school. ... A functioning Bible school is the badge of success.¹¹⁵

The real issue is whether, in view of the fact that these churches lack both human and material resources to effectively run the various Bible Schools that are emerging, a combined effort will be desirable. If the aim of these Bible schools is to enhance the status of the emergent pastors, as Agyin Asare seems to suggest,¹¹⁶ then one wonders, given the present level of the schools, if this can be attained. In this regard, it seems the leadership of the movement can learn a lot from the Pope of the Charismatics, the Revd Dr Oral Roberts.¹¹⁷

Dissatisfaction with the mainline churches, and to some extent, the classic pentecostal churches; the inflexibility and sometimes inward looking attitude of the latter; lack of fulfilment; new visions; and the prevailing socio-economic conditions, were some of the factors that gave rise to the earlier churches within the movement.¹¹⁸ Later groups were often born as a result of schism, base snatching¹¹⁹, still new visions and "popular acceptability".¹²⁰

Whether or not the entering of the leaders of the neo-pentecostal churches into full-time pastoral ministry was entirely motivated by the *heavenly vision* or by some

¹¹⁵Gifford 1994, 258f.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 259.

¹¹⁷There are many things they can learn from Oral Roberts philosophy of training upon which the Oral Roberts University is founded. His School of Theology and Missions seems to have succeeded in integrating academic competence with spiritual anointing.

¹¹⁸Obeng-Darko does not believe the then socio-political factors influenced the decision, and that if they did at all, it might be a remote factor.

¹¹⁹This is sometime referred to as "base stealing". This refers to the situation where a branch of a particular denomination is taken over by the pastor/leadership of that branch, declaring its independence from the mother church. For example the Pastor of Duncan Williams Action Faith Church in London severed its relationship with the mother church and it has since remained as separate and distinct church from the Action Faith Church. Another recent example is that of the International Central Gospel Church branch in Kumasi which broke away from the parent church in 1994.

¹²⁰Kalu, The Wind of God, n.d., 10.

of the other factors listed above we may not be certain, for human psychology is a complex factor. We may however agree with Baeta in stating that:

Prophetism appears to be a perennial phenomenon of African life, and the basic operative element in it seems to be personal in character. Whether in relation to or independently of events or developments in society, the individual endowed with a striking personality and the ability to impose his own will on others, believing himself, and believed by others to be a special agent of some supernatural being or force, will emerge from time to time and secure a following. Powers traditionally credited to such persons, of healing, of revealing hidden things, predicting the future, cursing and blessing effectually, etc, will make a more successful showing than others. Such things as the above-mentioned endowment, inward illumination, a sense of divine vocation, spontaneous enthusiasm (in the original sense of being in God, experiencing ardent religious zeal) are facts of life and have their effects in African society.¹²¹

The reality of neo-pentecostalism in Ghanaian Christianity is that it is a potent agent for change, engendering a fundamental transformation of social and religious values. The doctrinal distinctiveness of African neo-pentecostalism is a sharply focused reflection of the African experience, particularly the endemic socio-economic upheavals. Their pragmatism is a quest for self-determination in the midst of the perennial political and socio-economic decline in the country and also a search for identity in the context of the African experience. Their message to the churches seems to suggest the fact that Christianity must not be moribund but active, penetrating every aspect of human life and of society without losing sight of the eternal dimensions of the human soul.

Their quest for salvation or *abundant life* manifests a continuity with the Akan conception of *Salvation*: health, prosperity, fertility, security, vitality, and equilibrium within the cosmos.¹²² The neo-pentecostals seem to have read the Bible on their own and have appropriated its message to suit their contemporary socio-economic and religious experience.

¹²¹Baeta 1962, 6-7.

¹²²Their quest also manifests a radical discontinuity with all traditional forms of supernatural succour.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE LIFE AND FAITH OF OTABIL AND THE INTERNATIONAL CENTRAL GOSPEL CHURCH¹

Introduction

What seems to set Otabil apart from the classic and neo pentecostals is his emphasis on "*black consciousness*", what Kalu has referred to as "*Evangelical-Pentecostal Liberation Theology*".² Taking into consideration Otabil's independent and critical thinking, the amount of literature his organisation has produced, the numerical strength of his organisation, and the paradigm shifts that have taken place in his thinking, his organisation requires more detailed study than the other neo-pentecostal churches.

Otabil the Man

Mensa Anamuah Otabil was born at Sekondi to Lloyd Moses Otabil of Ekumfi Adansi (Central Region) and Dinah Otabil whose maiden name was Dinah Amissah, of Elimina in the Central Region. The Otabil family later moved from Sekondi to Winneba. In 1966 the family relocated to Tema, near Accra, when Otabil was about six years old. Otabil's father worked as a personnel officer and later as a procurement officer with the Tema Boat Yard Corporation. He speaks of his father as a great support for the family especially in the education of the children. His father, he indicated, had strong moral and ethical values and helped him to speak his mind with no fear of intimidation. The fortunes of the family were reversed when the father had a stroke. Otabil indicates that they became near paupers as a result of this. This seemed to have hindered Otabil's education, though he finally managed to complete

¹This chapter is discussed in the context of the neo-pentecostal movement as a whole. It should therefore be read in the context of the previous chapter. As to my views about Otabil's exegesis, it suffices to state that though scholarship is evident in his writings, he does not generally write as an academician. His writings are for popular reading.

²Professor O. Kalu made this remark in January 1993 after reading a personal copy of Otabil's book *Beyond the rivers of Ethiopia*. Whereas other liberation theologians seem to place man and the structures of society at the centre in their struggle for political, economic social and racial emancipation, Otabil makes the Bible central in his discussion.

his ordinary level education at Swedru Secondary School.³

The Otobil family were originally members of the Anglican Church. Otobil made a personal commitment to Christ when he was about 12 years at the former Tema Community 2 Primary School SU. After his conversion he stopped attending the Anglican Church. Instead he regularly had fellowship with the Tema Fellowship. The whole family eventually made personal commitments to Christ at the Tema Fellowship. The mother subsequently shifted from the Anglican Church to the Assemblies of God with the children in about 1973.⁴

Otobil indicates that his Christian formative years were in the Assemblies of God. He however believes he developed a love for the Bible and reading at the Tema Fellowship. Out of the Tema Fellowship grew the Power House Fellowship in August 1975. It was here that he got the baptism of the Holy Spirit in September 1975. He then became attracted to evangelism.

Otobil moved to Kanda, near Accra central, in 1976 but kept associating with the Tema Power House Fellowship. In 1977 the Kanda Christian Fellowship was formed, and Rexford Osei became its first president. Otobil then assumed the responsibility for evangelism.⁵ Otobil became the President of Kanda Fellowship from 1981-83. Interestingly, he was also the president of the Kanda Peoples Defence Committee, a local civilian chapter of Rawlings' revolution, for some time.

In addition to the AG Church, Otobil also had contacts with the Calvary Baptist Church for two years and also had some with the Lutheran Church for about a year. He however, indicates that the major influences he had came from the AG, the Tema Fellowship, and the Power House Fellowship.

Otobil attended the all night prayer meetings of Brother Enoch Agbozo, but the influence his ministry had on him he believes was minimal. On Duncan Williams, he states that at the time Williams started his ministry he was also contemplating organising his own, and that he visited him a couple of times. He admits that Duncan Williams has had a positive impact on his life.

³Interview 1.10.93.

⁴One senior sister, two senior brothers and one junior brother.

⁵Nima Fellowship developed out of Kanda Fellowship.

Otabil believes that much of the experience he had came from Kanda Fellowship. He organised some seminars on faith, gifts of the Holy Spirit, and praying for the sick. The vision of the Kanda Fellowship was expanded when he became its president, and he apparently ran into conflict with some members of the group. He indicates that he started sharing with some people his intention to form a church as far back as 1982. Otabil had a job with the Information Services Department (ISD) as a Trainee Technical Officer. By the time he resigned in 1982, he had been promoted to the grade of Technical Officer.

During the 1983 camp meeting of the Kanda Fellowship, he announced his intention to form a church. He indicates that he received strong support from some of the members of the fellowship. In February 1984 he started the International Central Gospel Church, and Edwin Donkor, his convert, at the ISD, became his assistant.⁶

He indicates that David Wilkerson, Kathryn Khulman, Dennis Bennett, and Kenneth Hagin are among western Christian leaders who have had major influence on his thinking. He started reading the books and listening to the cassettes of Hagin from early 1980s to 1983/84. Otabil, around 1985, felt the need to break from his dependence on the messages of North American preachers, especially Kenneth Hagin. He thus started developing his own theology. This seems to be the period he dropped his name "David". He believes his thinking on the selfhood of the African or the concept of negritude⁷ has largely been influenced by the Senegalese presidents, Leopold Sedar Senghor and Abdou Diouf.

The Message of Otabil

The distinctiveness of Otabil's theology is in the areas of what seems like *Evangelical-Pentecostal Liberation Theology* and *human development*. This seems to set him aside from all the other neo-pentecostal preachers in the country.

⁶Edwin Donkor holds a BA first class honours in fine arts.

⁷Negritude may be defined as "the literary and artistic expression of the black African experience" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed. vol 10, 635).

Evangelical Pentecostal Liberation Theology

Otabil believes man is not supposed to have dominion over man, and that whenever this happens, it breaks God's pattern for human interaction. In a situation of such injustice, the God of justice breaks in to set the oppressed free.

He believes Africa's past (the slave trade and colonisation) has somehow programmed the African peoples perception of reality.

The minds of our people are so hooked on to the supply and superiority of the white skin that it is almost impossible for them to conceive the thought of standing on their own feet. Whenever they attempt to stand they would still want to hold the hands of the "old-master."⁸

Otabil indicates that through massive propaganda and the control of economic and military power, Africa's past oppressors continue to control and dominate the thinking of the African people. He states that:

Misinformation has always been the tool for oppression. The oppressor controls and manipulate information until the oppressed believes in what he hears. This causes the oppressed to desire to be like the oppressor. He hates and doubts everything about himself and believes everything about the oppressor.⁹

The time of "freedom" has dawned. But this freedom, Otabil argues, must of necessity begin from the liberation of the mind, and unless man is set free from mental slavery, outward manumission will only result in what he has termed "*bondage in freedom*". Though physically free, he would still behave as if in bondage.¹⁰

He believes part of this "propaganda" is the way the role of Blacks in God's redemptive programme has been obscured or ignored by Euro-American biblical scholars. A corollary to this is the evil of organised religion using the Bible to

⁸Otabil 1992. *Beyond the rivers of Ethiopia*. Accra: Altar International, 70.

⁹A summary of an interview held with Otabil on 1.10.93.

¹⁰Otabil 1992, *Beyond the rivers of Ethiopia*, 69.

support racism.

He does not, however, believe the way out is to reject the Bible and Christianity and go back to African Traditional Religion as some have suggested.

Rather, he argues, the key to our emancipation is the Bible because

When a man is bitten by a snake, it takes an anti-snake bite serum prepared from a snake to bring healing and restoration to that person. [Therefore] ... if the Bible was misused and misapplied to bind our people, we would need an Anti-Oppression Serum prepared from the revealed Truth in God's word to bring healing, liberty and restoration to us.¹¹

Otabil's early reflection came in a form of series of teachings.¹² These reflections were later crystallised into his book referred to above.

Otabil asks "Did God ever use the black people?" "Are we on God's agenda?"¹³ He confronts the old satan-inspired myth that the Black race was cursed. He argues that the black race was not cursed, for Ham was blessed (Gen. 9:21). Arguing from Numbers 23:20, he states that such blessing is irrevocable. He continues that Cush, the son of Ham, was never cursed: rather in view of his position as the first born son, he received a double blessing.¹⁴

The leaders of the world after the flood were Cushites. Nimrod, traced to the lineage of Cush, "was the first governmental leader and motivator mentioned after the flood".¹⁵ He indicates that Abraham's Cushite children, though they were disinherited, were subsequently restored to their inheritance, through their faithfulness. One of them, Jethro, was a priest before Aaron.¹⁶ Jethro was a lawgiver to Moses.

¹¹Ibid., 10.

¹²The Inheritance of the Blackman, Parts 1 & 2, 1990, Cassette CM/9006; and Ethiopia Shall Soon Lift Up her hands, 1991, Cassette TS/9129.

¹³Otabil 1992, 18.

¹⁴Ibid., 38.

¹⁵Ibid., 39

¹⁶Ibid, 42, 48.

He taught Moses the principles of grass-roots local government administration.¹⁷ Hobab, the son of Jethro, by acting as a scout and a guide to Israel, won back their inheritance for Abraham's Cushite children.¹⁸ And "It was a covenant of equal sharing; the same level of blessing".¹⁹ On reaching the promised land, Joshua fulfilled the promise Moses made to the Midianites by settling them with the tribe of Judah,²⁰ thus confirming the presence of blacks in the promised land.²¹ He indicates that the Midianites featured prominently in God's dealings with Israel.

When it was time for God to fulfil His purpose of bringing Israel into Egypt, He used a Midianite group to take Joseph into Egypt. It was through Joseph the rest of Israel got into Egypt. A Midianite priest was used to prepare Moses to deliver Israel from bondage. God used the same Midianites to get them into the promised land. Is it coincidence? No, this is called *Divine Purpose!*²²

One part of the inheritance of Judah is the ministry of Praise which involves music, rhythm and dance.²³ This is the reason why

Whereas other people take many dance lessons to be able to move their limbs in rhythm to music, a black person would just simply flow! The music is in them. It is an inheritance.²⁴

Otabil believes the "Church has not experienced real praise and worship yet because the people to lead it have spent much of their time imitating other substitutes", and that it is about time the black race wrote fresh hymns and spiritual songs, bringing "our offering of praise to the altar and throne of the Kings of Kings and the Great Liberator". In this regard, he believes the prophecy of Zephaniah (3:10)

¹⁷Ibid., 51.

¹⁸Num. 10:32.

¹⁹Ibid., 59.

²⁰Judges 1:16. Here the Midianites are referred to by their synonymous name, Kenite.

²¹Otabil 1992, 57.

²²Ibid., 57.

²³Ibid., 60.

²⁴Ibid., 60f.

who himself is portrayed as a Cushite, according to 1:1, must be literally fulfilled.²⁵

One other inheritance of the Midianites was their direct connection with the *messianic line*. Quoting from Genesis 49:9-11, he believes the inheritance of Ketura's children included the blessings outlined in this text, and that the inheritance "literally linked up these black people with God's purposes in bringing redemption to humanity".²⁶

It is as if God was saying, "*Abraham did not give you an inheritance, he sent you off but I am going to put you in the centre of my redemption plan to bring salvation to mankind.*" This blessing was not a physical blessing. It was spiritual blessing. It did not necessarily make them naturally prosperous but the truth is that the natural is always produced from the spiritual. It is the anointing that breaks the yoke! I believe the total liberation of black people will be preceded by a major revival of God's power and glory in the nations.²⁷

He believes the Magi (Matt. 2, 1-12), "were black people who were sent off to the east country by Abraham";²⁸ that "As a result of black people's connection to God's plan of redemption, it was necessary for a black man [Simeon of Cyrene], to help Christ carry the cross to Calvary".²⁹ He affirms that on the day of Pentecost there were black people who were among those who heard the gospel in their own language and that the first gentile to hear the gospel was the Ethiopian eunuch, not Cornelius.³⁰ In the commissioning of Paul and Barnabas on their missionary journeys, he points out that two of the three "prophets and teachers, Simeon called Niger, and Lucius, were Black."³¹ Commenting on this fact he writes:

... Most of us have grown up thinking all missionary boards are made

²⁵Ibid., 60f.

²⁶Otabil, 61.

²⁷Ibid., 62.

²⁸Ibid., 62, cf. Gen. 25:6.

²⁹Ibid. cf. Matt. 27: 32. He indicates that Jesus was naturally from Judah which had a link with the Midianites.

³⁰Ibid., cf. Acts 8:26-40).

³¹Ibid., 62f.; cf. Acts 13: 1 - 3.

up of Europeans or people of non-black extraction. The good news is that it is all right for black people to send missionaries into the field. And folks lets do it!³²

He believes this is the time of the black church and therefore the church in Africa should be ruled from Africa and that

Our leaders must be "*home brewed*". Our finances must be generated from the productive work of our own resources. Our headquarters must be Africa! When it becomes necessary to co-operate with other churches and ministries beyond our continent, it must be based on mutual respect and love. We were not made in God's image to receive "mercy drops!"³³

He calls on today's Cushite to change her dependency syndrome. He believes God is saying to the African:

*You may not have the money and all the technology that the people have but I have given you a message. You must know that I have put something inside you that must be told to the nations of the world.*³⁴

Otabil admits that Africa is far behind the rest of the world in terms of development. But then she must trust in the supernatural intervention of God in order to be able to "do beyond what our natural ability can do".³⁵

The foregoing is the essence of Otabil's Evangelical-pentecostal liberation theology, written for the popular audience. Indeed as Gifford has observed :

Otabil's attempt to re-evaluate the role and worth of blacks strikes chords wherever he preaches across the continent. This message has enormous appeal.³⁶

Otabil's Four Laws of Productivity

The issue of human resource development and motivation is one of the main things that has preoccupied the theological reflection of Otabil since 1986. A more

³²Ibid., 63.

³³Ibid., 68.

³⁴Ibid., 84.

³⁵Ibid., 87.

³⁶Gifford 1994, 249.

developed position on this became evident in 1990 through his teachings/sermons captioned: *Purpose, Be Fruitful, Multiply, Replenish the Earth, Subdue the Earth, and Growing into the image of God*. These ideas were later published in his book, *"Four Laws of Productivity"*.³⁷ Contrary to the school of thought held by some evangelicals that "God did not call us to be successful but to be faithful", Otabil believes everyone was born with the God-given capacity to be *successful* because God has given every one a *seed*. He writes:

No one was born to be a loser. No one was born to be a thief or a criminal. No one was born to be poor. That is not in the word of God. No one was born to suffer. You hear people say those things sometimes, ... Some religions think we are born to poverty and suffering on this earth and will not prosper until we get to Heaven. Do not ever let anyone tell you that. It is unscriptural. God did not say you came to suffer, but that you came to be fruitful.³⁸

Genesis 1-3 is the *"Programmatic text"* of Otabil. He believes the overall purpose of God for humans is found in the first three chapters of the Pentateuch, and that everything that follows is an expatiation of this.³⁹ His key text is Genesis 1:28. The terms: *"Be fruitful"*, *"Multiply"*, *"Replenish the earth"*, *"Subdue the earth"*, *"Have dominion"* are of special significance to the development of Otabil's concept of productivity. For him "If you become fruitful, multiply, replenish the earth, and subdue it, then you will have dominion".⁴⁰ These directives, though primarily meant for Adam are, he believes, inherited by all humans.⁴¹

He sees the mandate to be "fruitful" (Genesis 1:28) as the first law of productivity. For him, it has a far richer meaning and implications than what he sees as the traditional meaning of "child bearing" which is at times wrongly construed to mean "giving birth to as many children as one possibly can". For Otabil, the mandate

³⁷Mensah Otabil 1991. *Four Laws of productivity: God's foundation for living*. Tulsa: Vincom Inc.

³⁸Otabil, *Four laws of productivity*, 35.

³⁹Otabi, Cassette WS 9022, 3.6.90.

⁴⁰Otabil 1991, 13.

⁴¹Ibid, 27.

means "the act of producing" and it applies to every area of life. It is here that his "concept of seed" has significance. Since everyone possesses a "**seed**", and the seed is designed to flourish even in adversity,⁴² everyone has the God-given potential to be "fruitful" in whatever seed she/he has. One needs to discover his/her gift, and develop it to the maximum. Part of the developing process of "your seed-gift is learning how to use it in order to invest it and gain a return for the Lord".⁴³

Otabil believes the ability of God in an individual cannot always be judged accurately by others. This is because the world's system of assessment is twisted. One should not therefore allow outsiders to dissuade him/her from what that individual feels she/he is capable of doing.⁴⁴

With regard to the role education plays in developing one's gift he writes:

A teacher who has the greatest education will not be a good teacher without a gift of teaching. On the other hand, the gift of teaching will not make you a success *unless* you go ahead and get the education to develop it.⁴⁵

On **Multiply**, he believes it simply means "excel and expand". He believes that one needs to increase beyond being fruitful, because God is the God of increase.⁴⁶ This applies to every area of endeavour. One first produces the prototype, and then she/he makes several copies out of it. This is the meaning of "multiply". He writes:

This is the same process carried out by the author, salesman, industrialist, teacher, farmer, fashion designer.... First, they use the seed-gifts in them to produce the fruit; then, they multiply the fruits. God has woven this pattern intricately into the fabric of all human activity. When we regress or digress from this pattern, we set into

⁴²Ibid., 33.

⁴³Ibid., 41.

⁴⁴Ibid, 41f. In this regard he makes reference to the case of the famous Jazz star, Louis Armstrong, who could not be accepted into music school because he could not hit the scale on any note. Inspite of this Armstrong knew within himself that he had the gift of music. He went ahead to develop it and finally became a world star.

⁴⁵Ibid., 42.

⁴⁶Ibid., 45ff.

motion the Law of Decay.⁴⁷

In this regard he believes "If you are not increasing, you are not growing, and if you are not growing, you are dead. The day you stop growing, you start dying".⁴⁸

Otabil's third law of productivity is "replenishing the earth" or "filling up the earth". He thinks this basically means "*going out to fulfil your quota*".⁴⁹ Here, he believes God made humans "*partners in creation*" and that mankind was designed to be co-worker with God. He believes man is an instrument through whom God's purposes for creation are fulfilled. He writes:

Everything God intended to be in, on, above, or throughout the earth, he thought of before the first day of creation. He thought about cars, computers, and televisions, but He did not create them for us. He gave us the ability to be fruitful and make new things out of the power of imagination he gave us. If those things God foresaw were to be brought into existence, a human being would have to use the "seed" of creativity placed in him by God. ... When we link up with God, we become partners in creation. Everything you do in this life is fulfilling, or failing to fulfil, your role as a partner in creation.⁵⁰

Otabil thinks the highest form of living is to be busy fulfilling God's purpose. For example, the doctor who discovers a cure for a disease is a partner with God in bringing health to mankind. God has made the lawyer a partner in extending creation by bringing law and justice to the earth. The musician is a partner with God in bringing harmony into creation if she/he uses the musical talents to bring beauty and love to men's heart. He therefore warns that:

When a musician uses music to promote sex, drug addiction, and satanism, he is perverting and corrupting his purpose. He is using his God-given seed to bear evil fruit, which, if eaten by others, will seed corruption and death into them.⁵¹

⁴⁷Ibid., 46.

⁴⁸Ibid., 50.

⁴⁹Ibid., 76.

⁵⁰Ibid., 68.

⁵¹Ibid., 70.

He believes the above principle applies to all other areas of human pursuits.

Otabil thinks people who fill the earth with good things are those who have influence. At the macro level, he thinks countries like Ghana will not have any influence if they continue to import from other nations without exporting to these nations.⁵²

Otabil's fourth law of success is "*subduing the earth*". Here he talks basically of being able to manage "success" and "growth" in a humble way, bringing under control the dictates of the flesh. "Great men have come and gone, and those who stood are those who had self-discipline, those who had subdued the flesh".⁵³ The works of the flesh here does not only refer to adultery and other carnal sins, but also "laziness", "covetousness", hatred and envy are of the flesh.⁵⁴

It is clear from the sayings and writings of Otabil that he does not encourage slothfulness, and mediocrity. He believes "Most of the time the reason people are poor is because of laziness".⁵⁵ The road towards **abundant life**, he believes, requires man's cooperation with God. He encourages Christians to do things above the ordinary; to strive towards perfection and excellence. He admonishes:

Be skilful. Be a person of perfection in the way you do things. Make sure you act, live, and behave above the normal. Make sure you go beyond what everyone else is doing. And that may mean sleepless nights studying. But one day you will come to stand above the others.⁵⁶

He recommends that, apart from one's tombstone, one should leave a legacy for posterity.⁵⁷ This is achievable because:

If you believe God, no matter the colour of your skin, the country you are from, or the economy of your country or world, you can still believe for a big God to give you a big ability to achieve big things for

⁵²Ibid., 73. Here Otabil is not referring to the export of primary commodities.

⁵³Ibid., 122.

⁵⁴Ibid., 117.

⁵⁵Ibid., 95.

⁵⁶Ibid., 89.

⁵⁷Ibid., 96.

His glory.⁵⁸

From the foregoing, and the analysis of the teachings and sermons preached by Otabil and other ministers of the church, one sees that the emphasis of the church is decidedly, "*here and now*". Though Otabil believes the Bible Reveals God's forgiveness through the eternal atonement of the shed blood of Christ. [And that] it is God's response to man's universal need for atonement, cleansing and restoration of relationship,⁵⁹

He thinks that evangelical Christians should be able to relate their experience in Christ and the Bible to the social realities of life.⁶⁰ He believes

When the Bible talks about eternal life the reference is not just to a futuristic promise but to a dynamic relationship with God that literally affects every aspect of life here on earth.⁶¹

Because of this he argues that

Preachers from Africa and of African descent can no longer continue preaching an escapist pie-in-the-sky message. We cannot continue singing about flying away and wearing a shoe in heaven whilst our people battle the harsh realities of life. I fully believe in heaven and hell; but I also believe that God created man on earth to have dominion and not to be dominated by poverty, ignorance and fear.⁶²

The main agency through which Otabil propagates his ideas is the International Central Gospel Church, and the outlets it provides. Whereas other faith preachers within the neo-pentecostal movement do see "faith in God", "the power of the spoken word" or putting into practice the immutable laws of "sowing and reaping" as the key to success and prosperity, Otabil goes beyond these platitudes, by developing a responsible work ethic in addition to the faith principle.

He teaches that through the God-given seed/talent within the individual, combined with hard work, motivation, confidence, studiousness, sacrifice, spirit of excellence, moral uprightness, and continued education, one can be successful. Otabil,

⁵⁸Ibid., 134.

⁵⁹Otabil 1992, 16.

⁶⁰Interview, 1.10.93.

⁶¹Otabil 1992, 16.

⁶²Ibid., 12.

in this regard, seems to foster personal effort and human development in addition to encouraging the faith principle ... a practical way to rise above the present socio-economic difficulties in the country.⁶³

Otabil's Diatribe

The period 1986-1989 may be said to be the period of controversy in the history of ICGC. The focus of the leadership during this period was a "more radical effort to change everything".⁶⁴ Otabil's earlier understanding of his call and his mission caused him to preach some denunciatory harangues directed against the established churches.

Otabil denounced the historic churches for their complacency and compromise. He referred to them as "Babylon" and some of the ministers as "vipers".⁶⁵ He questioned the legitimacy of the "unbelieving ministers" pastoring God's flock, while ridiculing those ministers who patronised the "secret societies". He then challenged the born again Christians within those churches to "come out of them", because they were in the place of darkness. Otabil's diatribe was not only directed to those within the established churches, but also to those within churches like the Church of Pentecost and the Assemblies of God, and organisations like the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International (FGBMFI).⁶⁶ The reaction from some of these

⁶³Otabil has also established the "Winner's Club" as part of the programmes of the church. Here, Otabil personally teaches motivational principles. He also uses the expertise of others to teach certain business principles. In addition the church organises occasional teaching programmes on economic development. For example the whole of June 1993 was designated "Economic Development Month. In this way Otabil seeks to reinforce the teachings enshrined in his *"Four Laws of Productivity"*.

⁶⁴Otabil, interview 1.10.93.

⁶⁵The Vision 6.

⁶⁶These sermons may be grouped into two: Group one refers to the series captioned "The Vision", seven parts in all.

- 14/5 Vision Part 1: Was the introduction to the series here
- 21/5 Vision Part 2: Breaking Up the Fallow Ground
- 28/5 Vision Part 3: Eunuchs in the Palace of the King
- 11/6 Vision Part 4: The Pattern

churches and organisations was a counter and a bitter denunciation of Otabil and his message.⁶⁷

The Sobriety of Otabil

Otabil, in a humble and sober way, now admits that he was "too hasty and too judgmental" in some of the things he said. In retrospect, he said, "In my mind I thought there was going to come a new movement altogether",⁶⁸ which would replace what he saw as an apostate church. Otabil now believes that "God always deals with the old and the new together and that the new comes out of the old". He no longer sees the need for born again Christians to leave the established churches.⁶⁹ He indicates that the success his church experienced between 1984 and 1986 influenced his perception of reality. He says now he has an appreciation for the things he previously opposed, and that he was willing to cooperate with all the churches. His perception of the FGBMFI has also changed.⁷⁰

18/6 Vision Part 5: Understanding Church Planting

2/7 Vision Part 6: The People that sit in darkness have seen the great light.

9/7 Vision Part 7: The name of the Lord is a strong tower.

The week of 4/6/87 was taken by Oben Darko, during which he preached along the same line. His sermon was captioned "The foxes that spoil the vine".

Group 2 refers to those captioned *The Mystery of the Seven Churches*:

13/9 Part 1: First Love

20/9 Part 2: The Doctrine of Ballam

27/9 Part 3: The Doctrine of Jezebel

4/10 Part 4: Having a name alive, but yet dead

11/10 Part 5: When God opens no one can shut

18/10 Part 6: The Lukewarm church

⁶⁷Otabil, interview 1.10.93.

⁶⁸Interview 1.10.93.

⁶⁹Interview, 1.10.93.

⁷⁰Some of the members of ICGC now hold very key positions in this organisation. Some believe that Otabil's previous attitude towards other churches and organisations was orchestrated so that he could win more people to his church and that now that he has well established his church, such messages are no longer necessary, hence Otabil's changed attitude towards the established churches. The present writer however

The major shift in the thinking of Otabil occurred between 1990 and 1992. This shift affected his attitude towards Bible Colleges and theological faculties, and his attitude to ecumenism.⁷¹

The International Central Gospel Church

Early Beginnings

During the 1983 camp-meeting of the Kanda Fellowship, Otabil announced his intention to form a church. On 26 February 1984 the church was born, and Edwin Donkor, his convert, became the Assistant Pastor.⁷²

The Church started at the Kanda Primary School but it had to move to several other places over the years until it finally acquired the Baden Powell Memorial Hall (located at the shores of the Atlantic Ocean by the Arts Centre) in 1986.⁷³ In

believes that Otabil's changed attitude is sincere. It does not appear to be predicated upon the growth ICGC has recorded.

⁷¹Through some good public relations work, Otabil and ICGC seem to enjoy the respect of many. For example the majority of those who teach at Central Christian College (CCC) come from the established churches. Kwame Bediako of Akrofi-Christaller Centre for Mission Research and Applied Theology, is a member of the International Council of Reference of CCC. Joshua Kudadji, of the Religious Studies Department of the University of Ghana, and also a minister with the Methodist Church, accepted to speak in the chapel service of CCC in early 1991 after learning Of Otabil's paradigm shift. He has since been very helpful in CCC's efforts to secure affiliation with the University of Ghana. During the Economic Development month of June/July 1993, and the Family Month Seminar of August 1993, some of the speakers came from the established and classic pentecostal churches.

⁷²Initially an executive committee of the church was formed. Miss Felicia Esseku (now Mrs Felicia Annor) and Edwin Donkor were in charge of church growth. Christopher Annor and Gracious Awoye were in charge of missions. Richard Donkor and Patience Adza were put in charge of students affairs. For what seems like operational difficulties, the executive was dissolved in 1985, a year after its formation (Interview, Pastor Annor, 3.10.93).

⁷³One day while the group was meeting at the Kanda Primary School the school authorities ejected them. Through the help of Charles Appah, a teacher at the National Vocational Training Institute (NVTI), the group was able to move there the same day to continue their meeting. This was in 1984. (Appah has since become one of the pastors of the church). It again moved to the Accra High School during the same year. After using the facilities here for about five months, the group was evicted in

the early days, the Sunday meetings were very lengthy. The services began at 9 am and finished at 4pm.⁷⁴ Commenting on the experience of the members in the early days, Pastor Annor, states:

We saw ourselves as a family Our emphases were on holiness, evangelism, and fellowship. At the end of our meetings we would hire a bus and go out for an evangelism. The church was branded for our uniqueness. Now it would appear that things have changed. ... The service now seems more dignified and controlled.⁷⁵

The emphasis on evangelism continued into 1987 after the church had started running two services every Sunday. Those attending the second service would conduct a house-to-house coordinated evangelism programme beforehand. Those attending the first service would conduct a similar exercise afterwards. Through such methods, in April 1987 the church increased its membership from 700 to 1500 in one week.⁷⁶

Some of the early key leaders who have contributed to the growth and development of the church are: Obeng Darko and Eric Kwapong, Christopher Annor, Gracious Awoye, Morris Appiah, and Nana Abaka Johnson.⁷⁷

Obeng Darko was a former member of the Four Square Gospel Church, Accra.

1985. It then moved to the South Valley Preparatory school, using the primary 5 class room. Their presence here was also short lived. In 1985 it began its Sunday services at the Regal Cinema, Osu, while the week day evening meetings took place in the home of Mrs Hammond and it was subsequently moved to the YWCA, when the membership increased. (Mrs Hammond has since become one of the staunch lay leaders of ICGC). In 1986 the church was able to acquire a lease of the dilapidated Baden-Powell Memorial Hall, from the Ghana Boys Scouts Association. The facility has since been fully refurbished for the use of the church.

⁷⁴The programme of activities were as follows:

Intercessions	1 hour
Praise and Worship	2 hours
Preaching	2 hours
Other activities	2 hours

⁷⁵Interview with Pastor Christopher Annor, 3.10.93.

⁷⁶This view is shared by the leadership of the church including Otabil. This is also shared by the old members of the church. Cf. Gifford 1994, 245.

⁷⁷Abaka Johnson seceded in 1994 to form his own church.

He started his own teaching ministry in the early 1980s after his high school education. He published occasional booklets containing his teachings. It is believed he was a visiting speaker at the meetings of ICGC from its inception. He had an early contact with Otabil when Otabil was still at Kanda fellowship. During some of the early itinerant teaching ministries of Otabil, he happened to share platforms with Obeng Darko. Obeng Darko fully joined ICGC around 1985. With his teaching abilities he was put in charge of what later became the Tuesday teaching services. He later became the Dean of the church's ministerial training institute when it was founded in 1986. As a result of reorganisation within the church, Obeng Darko was transferred to Kumasi as the District Minister in 1993. He subsequently seceded.

Eric Oduro Kwapong had a very early association with most of the present key leaders of the neo-pentecostal movement through pentecostalist prayer meetings which took place in his family house at the Dansoman estate, which became known as **"Emmanuel Villa House of Prayer"**.⁷⁸ His conversion to pentecostalism took place when he came in contact with COP. He stresses that though this encounter was only on two Sundays, it made a profound impact on him. He also had contacts with Agbozo's Ghana Evangelical Fellowship, and Calvary Baptist Church. He was also with Duncan Williams' organisation for two years (1979-1980). He later joined Ampiaaw Kwofie's Global Revival Ministries before forming his Judah Praise International in 1982. This ministry, which had been supporting Otabil since the beginning of his ministry, was absorbed somewhere in December 1984 by ICGC.⁷⁹ He then assumed the leadership of the Praise and Worship in the church. He did this

⁷⁸Some of the present leaders of the neo-pentecostal movement who participated in this prayer meeting included: M. Otabil, O. Darko, M. Essel, T. Yarboi, G. Garshong, I. Quaye, A. Kwofie. According to Kwapong, these young men had a common experience in that they were reading the same books.. These books included the works of Kenneth Hagin, John G.Lake, E.W. Kenyon; and also some classical works of Moody, Spurgeon, Finney. Those who gave leadership to this group were mainly Reita Kwapong (Eric Kwapong's widowed mother), Yamqah (of the Assemblies of God), Duncan Williams, Nicodemous and Boate. This prayer group ceased functioning in 1981 to make room for other activities.

⁷⁹Judah Praise organises worship programmes and conferences. Otchere, Morris Appiah, Sammy Gyekye, who are now ICGC pastors, were former members of Judah Praise.

until early 1994 when he was transferred to the Tema church, to assume oversight of the work in the Eastern Region.

Another person whose ministry briefly came under Otabil's ICGC was Agyin Asare. Asare and Otabil came in contact somewhere in 1985. ICGC cooperated with him in his Oda and Tamale evangelistic efforts. During the 1987 ICGC camp-meeting, Asare announced his merger with ICGC. He thus became part of the pastoral team of ICGC. Apparently, he did not find fulfilment so he left ICGC after two months stay.⁸⁰

The Early Problems of the Church

The major problem the organisation faced at its infancy stages was with accommodation. This problem was not peculiar to this organisation. Since buildings were scarce and the number of churches increased, various churches had to move from place to place under various circumstances. The most popular meeting places for most of these churches were school buildings. The continuity of use of such buildings normally depended upon the disposition of the authorities of that school to that church. Some times government regulations could also cause disruption.⁸¹

Financial constraint was the other major problem Otabil's organisation faced. Almost all the early members of the church were of the working class, who were struggling financially. In spite of this, Otabil taught his Congregation to stop looking to Europe or America as their source of supply but to cultivate a new spirit and ethic of national development.⁸²

Otabil, a strong believer in the indigenous church principle, is convinced in stating that: "I fully believe that wherever God puts you He has enough resources in place to take care of your needs".⁸³ This emphasis has helped the church to develop on its own initiative, becoming what seems like one of the more prosperous young churches

⁸⁰Interview with Otabil 1.10.93.

⁸¹For example recent government regulation prohibited the use of school buildings by churches for meeting purposes. This caused some churches to close down. It is not clear the extent at which this regulation has been relaxed.

⁸²Otabil 1992, 68.

⁸³Ibid.

in the country.⁸⁴ Apart from the tithes and offerings which come from the members, the church also generates income through the sale of audio and video cassettes containing messages preached by ministers of the church, most of them Otabil's motivational messages.

ICGC Polity

The polity of the church is avowedly pastocracy.⁸⁵ The church believes in the "five fold ministry" as found in Ephesians 4:11.⁸⁶ It however does not use these titles except for "pastor" or "overseer". Though the church believes in the "universal priesthood of all believers"⁸⁷ it also sees the office of the pastor as a very high office, since "the Holy Spirit has made them overseers" over the flock, and they also "watch over the souls of the believers".⁸⁸

The administrative and financial matters of the church are, however, in the hands of well-qualified lay members of the church. This body is called the management committee.⁸⁹ The meetings of the management committee are chaired by the General Overseer (Otabil) or his appointee. All major decisions with regard to administration or finance are taken by this committee.

⁸⁴Monthly tithes commonly referred to as "first fruits" in 1993 ranged between 4 million and 6 million cedis (approximately £4000 and £6000. Weekly (1993) offerings was about £1000. Gifford mentions that the amount for one Sunday offering in March 1994 was about \$1800.

⁸⁵I owe this word to Professor Kalu. It is used in reference to a form of church government which is under the control of pastors.

⁸⁶Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers. Pentecostals normally refer to this as the five-fold ministry.

⁸⁷It is not clear how this concept was held during the early days of the organisation.

⁸⁸Acts 20:28 cf. Heb. 13:17. See appendix: Relationship to the Pastor.

⁸⁹The administrative committee has a sub committee called the finance committee. There is also another committee called the "Building Committee". This committee is made up of qualified professionals in the building industry. They are responsible for the building projects of the church. Whatever be the decision of this subsidiary committee, it would have to go to the administrative committee for ratification and implementation.

Unlike the other classic pentecostal churches, ICGC has not yet developed the hierarchical organisational systems. Recent developments indicate that some of the lay leaders within ICGC were agitating for a similar structure to enable them to function effectively. From all indications, it appears that a similar system will emerge among the laity.

The Mission and Mandate of ICGC

The vision of the organisation is spelt out thus:

ICGC is a Charismatic Word-based Church whose vision is to establish the House of God, lift up the image of the Blackman so he can be a channel of blessing to all men. *The ICGC seeks to establish the **largest** and the **healthiest** church on the African continent*, being a base for a strong missionary outreach to Africa, the Third World and the unreached areas of the world.⁹⁰

The ICGC focuses on ministering to the whole person: to develop spirit, soul and body as it is the will of God for His children to prosper spiritually, physically, intellectually and materially.⁹¹

The church seeks to help its followers to realize their worth, accept their true identity in God, and assist them to discover their talents and abilities to develop them to the optimum, through its teaching and preaching ministries, and also its publications.

The original vision of establishing the healthiest and the largest church in Africa was modified somewhere in 1992. Otabil believes the change was necessary because this particular vision engenders unnecessary competition and undue pressure upon the leadership. He thinks as one gains more experience in his/her walk with God and in the ministry, things become clearer. This means a vision, be it individual or organisational, needs to be redefined or modified from time to time, taking into consideration one's understanding of the Divine revelation and contemporary changes.⁹²

What now seems to be the overall concern of the organisation is its

⁹⁰*What is the ICGC?* n.d., 1. Emphases are mine.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Interview, 1.10.93.

commitment to bring leadership and vision to the present generation and to influence primarily the Ghanaian society with what is considered to be the principles of the Kingdom of God.⁹³

Ministries of the Church

The ministries of the church include: the Covenant Family⁹⁴, children's ministry, youth and student ministry, family enrichment ministry⁹⁵, prison ministry⁹⁶, tapes and publications⁹⁷, and Winners Club.⁹⁸ The various ministries of the church are headed by different pastors. Otabil administers these departments through the various heads. The heads have maximum freedom in executing their responsibilities. Otabil comes in as and when the need arises to give the necessary input. He is easily accessible for consultation.

⁹³The following statement of purpose is now read to the congregation every Sunday morning by the announcer.

We are a Bible believing Charismatic Church with a commitment to bring leadership and vision to our generation and to influence our society with the principles of the Kingdom of God.

⁹⁴The "Covenant Family" variously referred to as "house groups" or "home cells", in other circles, is a gathering of committed Christians, numbering five to thirty, who meet in various communities for prayer and fellowship. This arrangement is meant to overcome the problem of depersonalisation, the inevitable syndrome of growth.

⁹⁵The family enrichment ministry has under its outfit the following activities: Couples' Club, Singles Fellowship, Pre-Marital Counselling, and Weddings.

⁹⁶At the moment this ministry is evangelistic, seeking to lead prisoners to the saving knowledge of Christ. Part of its projection is the provision of educational programmes to help unskilled prisoners acquired basic skills which will enable them to enter into some productive ventures after their release.

⁹⁷The tape ministry which began in 1986, is responsible for sound and video recordings of the church. Tapes containing various messages of the church are distributed through out the country and in other foreign lands.

⁹⁸The winners club is made up of business men/women and other professionals who meet for fellowship and instruction with regard to biblical and professional principles as an aid to running successful business.

Convocations

The main convocations of the church are its Sunday services, Tuesday teaching services, Thursday Prayer meetings (popularly referred to as the solution centre), and the Annual Campmeetings.

Sunday Services

Sundays are very busy days for the church workers as myriads of activities go on. About 4600 worshippers attend the two Sunday services. The first service begins at 8 am and finishes around 10.30 am; the second begins at 11.00 and finishes around 1.30 pm. The order of service looks like this:

A.i. Intercession⁹⁹

ii. Praise and Worship¹⁰⁰

B.i. A word of faith from the Bible.¹⁰¹

ii. Welcoming of visitors

iii. The declaration of the statement of Purpose of ICGC.

iv. Announcements¹⁰²

C. First Offering

D. Choir, soloist, mime, or drama.

E. Preaching¹⁰³

⁹⁹This is led by one of the junior pastors.

¹⁰⁰This may take between twenty and thirty minutes. This was normally led by Eric Kwamong, the music pastor, or Morris Appiah, the assistant music pastor. These two are normally assisted by Pastor Otchere, also of the music department.

¹⁰¹The whole section "B" is almost entirely done by specially trained announcers (male or female) from the laity. The word of faith may be from any part of the Bible. Though it is normally taken from the OT, especially from the prophetic books, no matter where it comes from, it must necessarily stir the faith and confidence of the listener. Examples are: Jer. 29:10; Isa. 41: 10-13; 3 Jn. 2.

¹⁰²The general announcements are given by the announcer. Specific announcements, like weddings, are made by the minister in charge of that particular department. Certain announcements are reserved for the General Overseer, Dr. Otobil.

¹⁰³The preaching may take 40 to 60 minutes. This may be followed by congregational prayer or an "altar call".

F. Second Offering¹⁰⁴
 G. Benediction

In both services, those who cannot fit inside the main auditorium participate with the help of closed circuit TV.

The departments that are behind the effectiveness of the Sunday services include the: Music, Protocol/Ushering, and Counselling Departments. The effectiveness of these departments largely depends upon the devotion of the laity.

Gifford observes:

... The music is a crucial part of the service. Again the singing is mainly English, thoroughly prepared, and involves the total participation of the congregation. As well there is always a short time for a choir, soloist, mime or drama--all of considerable quality. The whole service is remarkably professional: logistical feats of organising back to back services for such numbers, and of taking offerings during them, are accomplished by armies of stylishly uniformed ushers. The church's myriad activities are advertised, financial matters are disclosed, including the takings of the previous Sunday.¹⁰⁵

Tuesday Service

The Tuesday meetings are mainly for teaching. This used to be the particular domain of Obeng Darko. Occasionally other ministers including Otabil took up the service. The Tuesday teaching services attract about 2000 people.

Campmeetings

There are two forms of such meetings: the general camp-meeting, which is the general convention of the whole church, and the mini campmeetings, which are organised at the local level. The speakers at the general campmeetings come from the

¹⁰⁴This is a designated project offering. This is towards some specific projects of the church.

¹⁰⁵Gifford 1994, 245.

church and other local and external ministries.¹⁰⁶ This convention is used as an occasion to highlight the mission of the church, and particularly the vision of ICGC.¹⁰⁷ Mini campmeetings which are organised at the local level, are an opportunity for some of the laity and other pastors of the church to share their views.

Prophet Annor's Solution Centre

This weekly Thursday prayer meeting popularly known as the **"Solution Centre"**, is a place of healing. The ministry, which is well patronised by people from different churches, seeks to address the healing and other physical needs of the people. This kind of grouping is the first of its kind among the neo-pentecostals.¹⁰⁸

Apart from these major meetings, there are other week day meetings: Wednesdays for marriage counselling, Thursdays for Covenant family meetings, and Fridays for lay leadership training.

Missions and Church Planting

The church's mission department seeks to coordinate missionary activities in the church. The church began with the focus on building only a single large church for the whole of the country. As the vision became clearer other congregations were established in Cape Coast, Takoradi, Kumasi and other towns in Southern Ghana followed.

The original intention of these new congregations was that they were to be patterned after the Accra church. They were however, not to be branches of the ICGC but autonomous churches, or **"vines"**. This is because "branch churches will never grow"¹⁰⁹. It was intended that "wherever we go to plant a church, that one will be

¹⁰⁶Dr Tokunboh Adeyemo, the General Secretary of Association of Evangelicals of Africa and Madagascar (AEAM) spoke at the 1991 meeting. Dr Myles Munroe of Bahamas Faith Ministries International spoke at the 1992 camp-meeting.

¹⁰⁷Because of the elaborate logistics involved in this annual general camp-meeting, it appears its continuity could not be sustained as the church grows numerically. What may happen in future is that it may have to be organised at the regional level.

¹⁰⁸We will say more about Annor and this ministry in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁹Understanding Church Planting 1987, Cassette 8721F.

the largest", and they will "overthrow other churches".¹¹⁰ The idea of transfer of ministers from one congregation to another was also not to be practised as it was thought to be unbiblical.¹¹¹ Otobil no longer subscribes to this view.

Apart from the Accra church, there are 17 other congregations, mainly in the southern parts of Ghana. Until 1992 the church was basically urban based. In 1992, through the initiative of some lay members of the church, some rural congregations were established in the villages surrounding Accra. Another one has since been established at Nankese, near Suhum, Eastern Region. The church spells out its missionary commitment in the following terms:

Our strong commitment to missions stems from our desire first to obey the Word of God and also our belief that it is time for us to take the destiny of the millions on the continent into our hands. We feel a strong call to be responsible for the many souls in our land who for generations have been saddled with all kinds of hindrances to their total development, and ensure that the generations to come will be free from all forms of bondage.¹¹²

Social Action and Equality

Otabil previously held to the view that the church was not called to enter into commercial enterprises, though members would be encouraged to do so.¹¹³ Otobil has since modified his position. He sees his former position as "reactionary".¹¹⁴

In 1989 an ICGC scholarship scheme was set up to aid poor but able students to acquire secondary and vocational education. It is also projected that, as and when facilities become available, ICGC would embark on some vocational and technical schools. In the past it has also supported some Liberian refugees in the country.

In 1992 the church organised what was called "The Political Awareness Week" during which a public forum was organised for the representatives of the various

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²*What is ICGC?*, 6.

¹¹³See for example, *Understanding Church Planting* 1987, Cassette 8721F.

¹¹⁴Otabil, interview 24.9.93.

political parties in the country to present their manifestos to the ICGC audience. This is believed to be the only such public forum created for the political parties in the country. A similar arrangement was made for the two leading political parties in the country on 26 October 1993 under the theme: *The Ghanaian Dream: Our Hopes and Aspirations*. It was felt that since the political parties were saying basically the same thing, it would be important for them to meet in order to explore ways and means in which the two parties could cooperate to make this dream a reality.¹¹⁵

Otabil also serves as a member of the National Commission on Culture, Religious Affairs section. It appears this appointment was made basically because of Otabil's theological contributions on the selfhood of the African.

The organisation also organises every year the donation of blood to the Korle Teaching Hospital's blood bank. It has also made monetary contributions to other agencies like the Ghana National Trust Fund.

Another area where the leadership of ICGC and perhaps neo-pentecostalism as a whole has made a major contribution is in the area of the ordination of women. This is something that the classic pentecostals, mainly for theological reasons have not been able to do. The only church among the classic pentecostals which practices ordination of women is Brother Lawson's Divine Healer's Church.

Perhaps the greatest contribution Otabil has made in the area of social action is his stand on the selfhood of the African. The essence of this message is that, if the African is going to emancipate from his present socio-economic predicament and take his proper role within the human community, then there must be first and foremost a self-realisation of who he is. This, in the mind of the present writer, is his outstanding contribution to the Pentecostal movement in Ghana.

Leadership Training Programme

Lay-leadership Training

This programme seeks to offer an intensive training programme for the laity, in order for them to be able to effectively carry out their supportive role in the church. The programme is divided into three: Basic, Intermediate, and Advanced. The

¹¹⁵Interview with Otabil, 1.10.93.

Basic course has been going on for some time but the intermediate programme was introduced in 1990. The basic programme covers the basic doctrines of the Christian faith, and foundations of biblical interpretation. The intermediate is more demanding and thorough. It covers subjects like biblical hermeneutics, Church History, Theology Proper (the Doctrine of God, and Angelology), Christology, Harmatology, and Pneumatology. This course, which was started in 1990, was temporarily discontinued when the present writer left for further studies. The advanced course is yet to be started.

Central Christian College

The college started as ICGC Ministerial Training Institute in 1988. The courses offered at this time were basically at the devotional level. This is mainly because as at this time the leadership was yet to come to terms with the value of academic training to pastoral work.

Later in 1990 the curriculum of the school was restructured, combining devotional and practical courses with some academic courses. As a result of these changes, the name "Ministerial Training Institute", was changed to Central Bible College, and was accordingly, registered with the Registrar General's Department.

On realisation that one does not have to "lose his/her anointing" after seminary education, and that it was possible to combine "Spiritual anointing" and "academic excellence" in the training of ministers, the school started redefining its long term training objectives. This resulted in the introduction of a course of study that will lead to a first degree in Bible and Theology. Plans are under way to introduce two more faculties: Business Administration and Management, and Communications. To reflect the new changes, the name of the college was changed to Central Christian College, which is registered in Ghana as a tertiary institution. It has initiated the process for its accreditation with the Ministry of Education through the Commission for Higher Education. The College is also a member of Oral Roberts University Educational Fellowship. It is currently seeking affiliation with the University of Ghana.¹¹⁶

In January 1994, CCC also started the Department of Evening Studies. The

¹¹⁶Brochure, *Central Christian College* n.d., 2.

programme offers a two-year certificate in Christian Ministries, and it is designed for church workers who by virtue of their responsibilities are not able to enrol in the full-time programme.

Pan African Centre for Christian Leadership

This centre is to help train African Christian leaders who can influence the world. Otabil's commitment to provide leadership for Ghana, Africa and the third world is the rationale behind this proposed project.

It is a response to the work of the Holy Spirit to raise the despised peoples of the world It is a practical demonstration of our belief that it is time to bless the rest of the world with the rich resources that God has deposited in us as a people.¹¹⁷

Conclusion

Thus through Otabil and ICGC, we see the beginnings, development and growth of an independent neo-pentecostal movement. Some of the emphases and methods of Otabil have changed. Some principles have been redefined. The shifts in Otabil's thinking seem to be a necessary requirement for the continuity of his ministry. His exposure and rethinking, and also most importantly his willingness to learn, appear to have helped the organisation to overcome tendencies of sectarianism. Otabil no longer sees himself as the leader of the only movement in the country which can bring change. Rather, he sees the church generally as part of the universal church, and particularly as an African indigenous church whose divine mission is to help bring leadership and direction to the black race. It is Otabil's conviction that the Messiah has come

*To give them [black race] hope in time of desperation. Love in time of hatred, and a trust in time of disbelief and doubt. He has come to restore in them their God-given human dignity. To remind them who they were.*¹¹⁸

This perspective is deeply embedded in Otabil's message and concept of salvation.

¹¹⁷*Green Pastures*, 27 Feb. 1994, 3. Quoted by Gifford 1994, 260.

¹¹⁸This prophecy came through Otabil during the 1990 ICGC Christmas Camp-meeting.

CHAPTER NINE

SOTERIOLOGY, THERAPY AND IDEOLOGY: PENTECOSTALISM, THE PRAYER CAMPS, AND THE QUEST FOR SALVATION

Preamble

Prayer Camps are pentecostalist prayer and healing centres where people with all sorts of needs go for supernatural succour. These centres almost exclusively gravitate around one key person: a prophet, a prophetess, or an evangelist.¹

Healing centres as a means of supernatural succour within the Pentecostal movement have a long history. The Okanta Camp located near Suhum in the Eastern Region appears to be the earliest one. Some leaders within the Church of Pentecost however believe the late Mame Dede's group at Kade, in the Eastern Region, is the earliest one.² Prophet Kojo Mintah, however, believes his centre was in existence before Anim-McKeown secession of 1939. If this is the case, then his healing ministry

¹There are two types of Prayer Camps: residential and non-residential. Not all the Pentecostal churches have this kind of healing centres. For example the Assemblies of God and the Apostolic Church have none. The Christ Apostolic Church and the Divine Healer's Church have one each, but these are relatively small. The International Central Gospel Church's "Solution Centre", is a weekly programme. There are also other weekly pentecostalist healing activities in some of the historic churches (for example, the Presbyterian Church, Nsawam, and Francis Akwaboah's healing centre, Ohwiem, Kumasi, which is loosely associated with the Roman Catholic Church). Generally, the phenomenon as a whole, is mainly within the Church of Pentecost.

²Mame Dede seems to have come into the limelight primarily because of her connection with the raising of a dead woman at Kade. Since the woman was raised from the dead before the 1953 split, the origins of Mame Dede's prayer group may be placed between 1940s and 1953. The Rev Ato Addison, the 1988-1993 General Secretary of the Church of Pentecost, is among those who believe Mame Dede's group was the first one to emerge (Interview on 8 July 1993). Information on this event is remembered by the older members of the Apostolic Church and the Church of Pentecost. Pastor David Tenobi, one of the early members of the Apostolic church, states that the woman who was raised from the dead testified at a convention at Asamankese, where she exhibited her burial shroud at the convention (Tenobi 1985, 16). Mrs Eunice Addison believes Mame Dede was one of the women that God used greatly in the early days of the movement. Her later controversy with the hierarchy of McKeown's Apostolic church also seems to have contributed to her notoriety.

predated that of Mame Dede.³ In any case, though these two groups may claim an earlier origin, in terms of size, patronage, and popular following, then Brother Lawson's group which was started in 1954, is the real precursor of the healing camps.

In spite of the fact that the phenomenon of prayer centres has been with the church for a very long time, its recognition as an integral part of the activities of COP took place just after the 1970s. This may be due to two main reasons. The first is the problem of secession. After the 1953 secession, the church seems to have kept a tight rein on the activities of its members. As long as individuals exercised their ministries through the existing structures of the church, beginning at the local church level, the church did not have any problem. What the church found difficult to countenance was the independent charismatic figures who wanted some sort of freedom in their mobility and the exercising of their gifts.

One other reason may be due to COP's avowed concern to maintain what is regarded as doctrinal purity. Some of these freelance prophets adopted aspects of the ethos and praxis of the spiritual churches which were considered unbiblical by the Apostolics.⁴

Within neo-pentecostalism, the phenomenon of prayer centres is quite recent. The first of its kind is **Solution Centre** within the International Central Gospel Church (ICGC), under the leadership of Pastor Annor.

Divine Healer's Temple and Brother Lawson: Precursor of Prayer Camps

Biography of Lawson

Gilbert Ablorh Lawson, popularly known as "Brother Lawson" was born on 11th of November, 1908 at Korle Gonno, Accra. He was the eighth child of Mr

³The other private and individualised healing activities within McKeown's Apostolic Church included those of Brother Lawson, Prophet John Mensah, and Rev Charles Tawiah Owuo. The ministries of Lawson, Owuo, and Mensah were all related to healing. They seceded around the same time to form independent pentecostal churches, with a distinctive ethos. In the process of time, however, all these three churches adopted the ethos and polity of the Apostolics.

⁴This included the use of healing agents like florida water, incense, consecrated water, and candles, which are integral part of the ethos of the spiritual churches. Whenever any of such unfamiliar practices began to show up within the church, the leadership immediately stepped in to put a stop to it. Those who insisted seceded.

Joseph Lantei Lawson of Lante Djan We, Asere, and Madam Mary Adechoe Lawon of Nee Addo We, Sempe. The Lawsons were members of the Anglican Church.

Brother Lawson attended the Government Boys School in Accra and on 15th October, 1925 he passed the Standard Seven Examination. He also passed the Civil Service entrants' competitive examination in 1927 and was subsequently employed by the Posts and Telecommunications Engineering Department as a clerk. He was transferred from Accra to Sekondi in 1928 and after four months he was again transferred to Kumasi where he spent 14 months in the service. In 1938 he married Miss Comfort Quaynor.⁵ In 1945 he was transferred back to Accra. He resigned from the civil service on 20th January 1958, having reached the rank of Senior Executive Officer, in order to devote his full time to Christian ministry.⁶

Religious Conversion

Lawson traces his conversion to December 1953 during the Accra crusade of Dr Thomas Wyatt, which was sponsored by McKeown's Gold Coast Apostolic Church. He narrates his experience thus:

In 1953 I twice passed by the convention the first Gospel Mission of America was holding in Accra. I felt like attending, but resisted the urge. The third day, when I broke off from the office, I decided to get home by a different route but transport difficulties compelled me to pass where the Convention was being held. I could no longer resist to attend. As I stood listening to the preacher, I began to shiver, and my sight suddenly turned inwards. That is, I became blind to things around me. I then saw a bowl in the sky from which blood was dripping on me. I felt wet all over. Angels appeared in the sky⁷

After this experience, Lawson is said to have had a similar experience on 28th of February 1954 when he attended a convention organised by the Gold Coast Apostolic Church at Teshie, near Accra. At the convention he joined a group of people praying during the break period. There he began to shiver and after shutting

⁵Miss Quaynor was a Methodist, and a trained midwife.

⁶Interview, Mrs Comfort Lawson, 20.7.93; cf. Lawson's funeral programme, 1989.

⁷Unpublished testimony, n.d. Private collections.

his eyes he shouted: "Come forth all who want to be healed" and he began to pray for some people.⁸

The Ministry of Lawson

Lawson prayed for several people after this experience with effective results. People started consulting with him both in the house and at the office. He also moved from place to place praying for people. He did all this whilst a member of McKeown's organisation.⁹ Before his resignation from the civil service on 19th February 1958, he was already devoting a major part of his time to evangelistic activities.

Healing Posts

Around May 1958 Lawson is said to have

Had a revelation from the Lord that Divine Healing Posts should be opened at certain outstations, so that the Word of faith should reach those folks who, because of poverty and oppression, are unable to come to the Lord is There Temple, Korle Gonno.¹⁰

This revelation was discussed with McKeown on three different occasions. It would appear, however, that Lawson's philosophy of ministry was in conflict with McKeown's Apostolic Church. The two things that apparently caused some concern were his use of "blessed water" and "blessed handkerchiefs". Moreover, Lawson seemed to have run his programmes independent of the parent body. It would have

⁸ It is not clear whether those people he prayed for were healed or not because he went into some temporary blindness. What he remembers is that after this experience a certain lady told him that he had received the gift of healing (Interview, present president of Divine Healers' Church (DHC), Mrs Comfort Lawson, 20.7.93).

⁹ All his converts were therefore asked to join McKeown's church. At a convention held in 1957 by the Gold Coast Apostolic Church, McKeown requested all those who felt they had received God's call into the full time ministry within the church to go forward for prayer. Lawson and others including Francis Addo went forward for this prayer of consecration (Interview, Comfort Lawson and Rev Francis Addo on 20.7.93).

¹⁰ From a letter from Pastor David J. du Plessis, Dallas, Texas. Original letter available at the mission house of DHC. Copy available in the private collections of the author.

been difficult for an outsider to see it as part of McKeown's organisation. For him, it was the leading of the Holy Spirit and the needs of the people that determined his movements, not organisational bureaucracy.¹¹

On 31st July 1958 McKeown and Pastor Nartey went to Lawson to discuss their differences. This meeting ended rather unsuccessfully.¹² News about the controversy soon went around. The leadership of McKeown's organisation felt the need to heal the friction but modalities for the meeting could not be mutually agreed by J.A.C Anaman and Lawson.¹³ On 14th October 1958, Pastors Mallet, Wood, and Elder Aggrey were sent as delegates of the Ghana Apostolic Church to visit Lawson on the issue. They suggested the need for the two to meet in order to resolve their differences. McKeown wrote to Lawson on 15th October to explore the possibilities of the meeting.¹⁴

The proposed meeting was not in keeping with the will of Lawson and some of his key followers so the meeting did not take place. The Ghana Apostolic Church made further attempts individually and collectively to heal the friction and prevent possible secession. Finally, a delegation from the Apostolic Church met with Lawson

¹¹As early as 1955 Lawson was already publishing a magazine for his followers, when McKeown's Apostolic Church was still waiting for Wyatt and Elton to help her develop one.

¹²McKeown is said to have walked out of the meeting, leaving his assistant, Nartey behind (unpublished typewritten report, 31st July 1958. Private collections. Original available at the DHC mission house).

¹³Details of the terms for the meeting are contained in a letter from Lawson to David J. du Plessis, 26th Dec. 1958.

¹⁴The following is the text of McKeown's letter:

Yesterday Pastors Mallet and Wood together with Brother Aggrey came to me after they had talked with you, they related their story. I asked them if they thought it would be good if you and I met and had a talk. They replied "Yes". If such a meeting is in keeping with your will, I suggest we meet. I would therefore ask you to choose the place, time and condition of the meeting (A letter from McKeown. Private collections).

again on 3rd January 1959, but it was unable to prevent the secession.¹⁵

Healing Camp Became Church

Brother Lawson started his ministry under the name "The Divine Healer's Temple". In February 1958 the name was changed to "The Lord is There Temple". In 1967 when Lawson "realised that the organisation had outgrown the status of a Temple and must now play the role of a church" the name was changed to "The Divine Healer's Church".¹⁶

Lawson's ministry effectively began in 1954 after the Teshie experience, at his Korle Gonno family home. During his early healing ministry, Saturdays were the busiest days. On this day, people would travel from far and near to attend the meetings. On a typical healing day

Brother Lawson emerges from the hall under the anointing power of the Holy Spirit and dances gracefully through the congregation in the joy of the Holy Spirit usually to the tune of a popular song "*Woo ke anunyan sale*" meaning Thou Deserve Honour and Glory. Brother Lawson regards this phase as a spiritual battle against principalities, powers, rulers of darkness of this world and against spiritual wickedness in high places. By revelation of the Spirit of God, Brother Lawson calls a chain of Biblical quotations to be read. If a person is possessed of the devil or his illness is caused by a demon, Brother Lawson commands the demon to leave the person's body in Jesus' Name and the demon leaves the body, the person hakes violently and at times falls down rolling and groaning on the ground. In difficult cases, the command comes in tongues. Brother Lawson sees the spiritual progress of the battle and stops to command when the battle is over. He sometimes reveals the cause of the sickness or the trouble which in most cases are due to witchcraft or an offence committed by the person. When the person is completely delivered he is asked to

¹⁵Perhaps one of the main reasons why the leadership strongly felt the need to keep Lawson was his popularity and the number and calibre of people he attracted. One person from McKeown's organisation I interviewed also indicated that Lawson's organisation had more money as a result of the people who had benefited from his healing activities. This would have helped to ameliorate the ailing finances of the parent body.

¹⁶Funeral Programme of Lawson, 1989.

give glory to God through Jesus Christ that he is healed.¹⁷

As far back as 1955 his magazine *The Divine Healer's Temple Magazine*, carried several testimonies of some of the beneficiaries of Lawson's healing ministry. The cases he dealt with were numerous. They included those delivered from satanic bondage in various forms, chronic diseases, barrenness, blindness, deafness, physical deformities of various kinds, broken marriages, family and business troubles, court cases, request for promotions, job opportunities, success in examinations, scholarships for further studies.

The healing and deliverance gifts of Lawson were acknowledged both by his critics and friends; by those inside and outside of the Christian fold. Several prophet-healing churches sprang up in the 1950s and 1960s but Lawson's ministry seems to have been awe-inspiring. The *Drum* magazine of April 1961 carried out a research on the activities of various faith healers in the country. We read that

All over the country, groups of religious sects are springing up, usually around one man referred to variously as a Prophet, Divine Healer, or Faith Healer. If one travels on any of the trunk roads, one is likely to come across one of their signboards "Wonderful Divine Healer. Bring Blind Men, Cripples and All the Sick." When Drum Cameraman Christian Gbagbo and I set out to find out what these faith healers were like, we discovered that, even though we ourselves did not see very much that was miraculous, there were scores of people who believed implicitly in these divine healers.¹⁸

Could the same be said of Lawson? After the *Drum* investigators had visited several healers without actually seeing anything overtly supernatural, they came to Brother Lawson's temple at Korle Gonno. The story continues that:

Our luck held at the next place we went to ... Brother Lawson's Divine Healer's Temple, Korle Gonno. When we got there he was commanding an evil spirit to come out of a man.

"... I command you to come out of him in the Name of Jesus! ... He does not belong to you, evil spirit. He's a child of God. C'mon, get, get out! Jesus has given me power over all spirits.... in the name of

¹⁷Biography in funeral programme of Lawson. His organisation now has 21 files containing testimonies of those whose lives had been touched by Brother Lawson's ministry. Those that we have examined were unsolicited.

¹⁸*Drum*, April 1961.

Jesus I command you to get out of him! Get out now! Now! Now! Get out ..." The man swayed left and right, his eyes closed. He groaned again and again as Brother Lawson poured forth the words. I could feel the power of it ... he didn't touch the man, but the man kept swaying left and right, his hands clasped in front of him. After about five minutes of this, the man suddenly darted forward and clasped Brother Lawson. He said " I saw Jesus".

Another man who said he was "bothered by an evil spirit" went and stood in front of Brother Lawson. The man said he couldn't have a steady mind to work with. Whenever he got work, his money just filtered away, he knew not where. He fought unnecessarily, even his friends and relatives ... he sometimes left home for days, wandering about

Brother Lawson called out a verse from the Bible. His school girl daughter read it. And the whole process began ... words, man swaying, more quotations from the Bible, man groans and sways some more and finally he convulses and opens his eyes.

I talked to this man. He didn't know why he swayed left and right while Brother Lawson was talking. His mind was now clear ... he could feel a lightness of spirit and he was sure all his troubles were over¹⁹

Lawson believed his power came from God through Jesus. The same reporter tells us that:

Brother Lawson read us some verses from the Bible to explain where he got his power. "My sufficiency is of God, " he said. "Through Jesus, God has made His Power of Healing available to me. I don't touch anybody .. it's all done by the Word of God -- the Bible ... The words of that Book are words of Life and no sickness, no evil spirit, is able to withstand their power...."²⁰

After the reporter had completed his observation, he concluded thus:

I am sceptical by nature, but when I saw that the former Posts and Telegraphs clerk's beard, his fiery eyes, his lanky litheness and heard the power in his husky voice, when I saw those chaps sway and groan at a word from his lips, and say afterwards that they were all right, I felt that he, indeed, was something that needed scientific

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

explanation.²¹

A writer in the *Ghana Times* of 4th October 1958 made a similar observation.

Go ye and hear the Gospel: One obeys the call and becomes a healer! That ten years ago, would have sounded impossible, impracticable, ghost story, reverie, fiction. You could hardly believe it in Ghana. All talk of metaphysical healing would be just poppycock. Yet it has happened in our blessed time; hundred, nay, thousands are being healed every month in the hilly, little Accra suburban town called Korle Gonno. At the Salvation Healing Ministry of the Church christened **THE DIVINE HEALER'S TEMPLE**. Brother Lawson is the healer. And oh, in just what diverse pains the sick meet around him! But oh, in what joy they go away ... healed. One would have thought that at this time those who know are using the ever present Cosmic current of force for therapeutic purposes and are performing cures of bodily ills through mental process; and Brother Lawson must have by means of denials and affirmations and prayers, backed by strong faith, unconsciously put into operation Cosmic forces for healing.²²

BUT NO, BROTHER LAWSON DENIES, AND QUOTES THE BIBLE "... THE FATHER THAT DWELLETH IN ME, HE DOETH THE WORKS." IT IS BROTHER LAWSON'S FIRM BELIEF AND CONVICTION THAT CHRIST IS WORKING THROUGH HIM TO HEAL MANKIND OF THEIR ILLS²³

In spite of Lawson's concern to bring healing, hope and deliverance to the sick and the hopeless in the *here and now*, like the parent body, he does not do this without addressing the issue of the atonement and personal reconciliation with God. He believed a personal relationship with God should necessarily precede any claim for healing. We are told by the *Ghana Times Reporter*, Joe Panford, that:

Brother Lawson will have you claim Jesus as your personal saviour and master and affirm it in all sincerity before he proceeds to heal you, commanding sin (disease) to quit your body (the temple of God). "From today going," he will have you repeat after him, "I accept Jesus Christ as my saviour and my master."²⁴

²¹Ibid.

²²*Ghana Times* 4th Oct. 1958.

²³Ibid., 10.

²⁴Ibid.

Though some saw him as "the healer", Lawson nevertheless, believed Jesus is the one who casts out devils and heals all the sick at the Divine Temple. Reporting of the events at the Temple in the first quarter of 1956, Lawson states:

Many people came to the Divine Healer's Temple possessed with devils and diverse sicknesses. Jesus, the Divine Healer, the Unfailing Physician, cast out the spirits with His word, healed them and set them free.²⁵

In spite of the success of Lawson, he shunned any personality cult or personal aggrandizement. The *Ghana Time* reporter indicated that:

So simple is Brother Lawson. But so strong is his faith in the carpenter's Son that in his name, he is healing people of all manner of afflictions and casting out devils.²⁶

Another national news paper reports Lawson to have stated thus:

Generally speaking, I do not know how this came about. It is only the work of God. For my own self, I need nothing under God's sky. I willingly give myself to God to use me to the fullest extent for the edification of the gospel and for the miracle of healing the body and comforting the soul, and for any other divine work as it pleases Him. By this my calling. God wants man to know who is his Creator and how man must serve God and worship Him in spirit and in truth.²⁷

Brother Lawson did not have any sacred objects as such but "blessed water" and "blessed handkerchiefs" were in use for some time to mediate the healing power of Christ. The use of these elements became part and parcel of Lawson's strategy of ministry through a revelation he is said to have received direct from God.²⁸ Lawson and his followers believe the use of "Blest Handkerchiefs" has biblical precedent.

²⁵He gave the following additional information for the first quarter of 1956: January: 1842 people were healed; February: 1352 people healed; March: 1234 healed. Attributing all these miracles to Jesus, he continued that "Apart from the above, approximately 980 souls were saved and well of over 520 people from different denominations received the Holy Ghost Baptism during the same period. Glory be to God. Amen". *Temple Magazine* 1956, 8.

²⁶*Ghana Times* 1958, 10.

²⁷*Sunday Supplement*, 24th August, 1958.

²⁸Interview, Mrs Comfort Lawson, Rev Amaziah Aflah Armah, Victoria Tackie, 24.7.93.

They seemed to have brought some help to a lot of people, as the following suggests:

Testimonies are being given daily in the Divine Healer's Temple by the users of these blest handkerchiefs as to how diseases depart from the sick and the evil spirits cast out of them and bad habits are removed miraculously by carrying the blest handkerchiefs upon the body.²⁹

By 1958 some people had started abusing the use of the "blest water". Lawson therefore in January 1958 decided against the use of it " ... in order that some people would not use it as a means of bringing God's work into disrepute".³⁰

Apart from the use of these two elements which he used to mediate God's healing power, at certain times, Lawson would report seeing fire glowing on top of a palm tree standing near the Temple. When ever he would see this manifestation "By divine direction he instructs the sick to touch the tree. All the sick who dare touch the tree were instantly healed".³¹

There is no evidence that Lawson attributed power to any of these "healing elements". He seems to have only thought of them as a means of tapping God's power. No particular place was regarded as sacred. Neither did he regard any particular object as sacred apart from the Bible which he claimed to be the "words of life".³²

The church was established with Lawson's retirement award.³³ No fee was charged for prayers offered. Baptismal certificates, bulletins, tracts, and even the *Temple Magazine* were all given free of charge. "Apart from preaching, healing and

²⁹*Temple Magazine* 1956, 3.

³⁰A declaration to this effect was made on 26th of January 1958. See appendix.

³¹This information is contained in Lawson's funeral programme. It was confirmed by the present president and the two vice presidents of the organisation: Mrs Comfort Lawson, Rev Amaziah Aflah Armah, Victoria Tackie, on 24.7.93. Independent confirmation was given by Elder Jonny Mallet, a former leader of the **Bombing Group**, on 2.9.93. The said palm tree is still standing at the Korle Gonno family house of the Lawsons.

³²*Drum* 1961, 19.

³³This amount is said to have been used to purchase the shed under which the meetings initially took place; provide benches and other equipment and to pay the allowances of pastors.

teaching, the church has no trading business anywhere. It has no overseas affiliation or financial support. It is an independent church without any financial support".³⁴

Some of the early branches of the church were in Nsawam, Kumasi, Koforidua, Labadi, Suhum, Osu, and Winneba. There were in all 34 assemblies as at March 1966, and membership was in the thousands. Most of the old Ga choruses originate with Lawson.

Both friends and critics of Lawson admit that the anointing of God was on him and that he functioned under the power of God. Some believe that if McKeown's Apostolic Church had absorbed him as one of the ministers of the church or at least if he had been recognised as one of the evangelists of the church, the secession would not have arisen. Others think a little tolerance, forgiveness, and magnanimity on the part of Lawson would have kept his ministry within the Apostolic Church.³⁵ What ever be the case, it is worth noting that the phenomenon of independent prophetism kept haunting McKeown's organisation. At the time of Lawson's secession, the Apostolic Church was yet to come to terms with various charismatics springing up within her fold, and their perception and appropriation of salvation. At one time the position was "The work of Brothers John Mensah and Lawson and Sister Sophia Offei should be kept as they are for some time. The work will prove itself in the long run".³⁶ At another time we are told that:

After chairman had informed Council of a resolution sent him by the "prophets" and "prophetesses" and subsequent troubles cropping up, Council decides to stand by its previous decision not to meddle with

³⁴A one-page type written document from the archives the church, n.d. Private collections. Lawson was for some time in communication with David du Plessis, the former secretary of the World Pentecostal Council. It seems this communication started when du Plessis was compiling information on the Pentecostal Directory of the World. The initial contact seemed to have developed into friendship. there is no evidence that any financial benefit came out of this relationship.

³⁵Elder Jonny Mallet, a former leader of the erstwhile Bombing Group represents this view. Interview, 2.9.93.

³⁶Minutes, General Council, April 1958. Private collections.

the independent works of these brethren.³⁷

Similar factors led to the secession of Pastor C.S.T. Owuo³⁸ and Prophet John Mensah³⁹ from McKeown's organisation around 1958 to form their own independent movements. Though the activities of independent prophetism seemed to have for some time been kept under tight control and scrutiny, later evidence indicates the phenomenon became uncontrollable. In consequence independent prophetism has now been recognised by the church as a legitimate partner in its own right, in the church's efforts to bring salvation to all.

The traditional African understanding of the spirit world and God's intervention to rescue people in desperation has continued to form much of the background to the way Pentecostals perceive, appropriate and experience the concept of 'salvation'.

Whereas at the official level, the overall theology and ethos of classic pentecostalism tend to lean towards the salvation of the soul more than material salvation, at the prayer camps, as in Lawson's ministry, the concept of salvation is fully stretched to cover the present existential needs of suppliants as well as issues dealing with the original sin and the atonement. The prayer camps and prayer centres have thus emerged as protest movements within pentecostalism. Their emergence raises the issue of the meaning of salvation in the context of human need and deprivation, and the nature of the human soul. They remind the churches of the need for a holistic ministry within the local church, one that deals with the issues relating to the here and now, as well as issues dealing with the hereafter. It is therefore the prayer camps and the prayer centres that one actually sees what the followers of the movement are "reaching out to", as the ideal of salvation.

The Proliferation of Healing Camps and Centres

The charismatic revival around the 1970s and the 1980s not only produced

³⁷Minutes, Pastors Council, October 1958. It was during this October meeting when Mallet, Wood, Aggrey, and Aboagye-Atta were delegated to contact Lawson "to find ways and means of healing the breach between himself and the Chairman".

³⁸His ministry led to the formation of the Apostolic Reform Church.

³⁹Prophet John formed the Church of Christ, Spiritual.

pentecostalist type churches, but saw the proliferation of several prayer camps and prayer centres, as well the revitalisation of existing prayer camps and prayer centres. Some of these healing centres developed into huge villages.

There were eight major COP-associated healing centres in the country as at October 1993. These are the Adumfa Prayer Camp in the Central Region, Goka and Bethel Prayer Camps, located respectively at Goka and Sunyani in the Brong Ahafo Region; the Bantama prayer camp, and the Sepe prayer centre, all located in Kumasi in the Ashanti region; the Sefwi Asafo and Agona prayer camps, located in the Western Region; the Okanta prayer camp located near Suhum, Eastern Region, and New Town Prayer Camp located in Suhum also in the Eastern Region.⁴⁰

Apart from these eight centres, there are also several other smaller ones scattered all over the country, or at least in the southern part of the country. These include the Labadi based prayer centre, led by Elder Tawiah and Sister Aba Yaa; and Annor's **"Solution Centre"**. We will briefly discuss five of the main camps which are under the auspices of COP, and the ICGC related **"Solution Centre"**.

The interesting feature of the men and women leading these camps is that they all speak of some intense religious experience. This is either in the form of a vision, a dream, an audible voice believed to be of God, an inner still voice, a directive prophecy, or a combination of these, and similar experiences. Through these encounters, they all believe, God has given them the mission and the mandate to bring healing and deliverance to the oppressed.

Mintah and the Okanta Prayer Camp

Prophet Kojo Mintah is the founder and leader of the Okanta Prayer Camp, located near Suhum, in the Eastern Region of Ghana.⁴¹ His parents were members of Anim's Christ Apostolic Church. He joined McKeown's Apostolic Church after the separation from Anim. He indicates that he was baptised by one Pastor Dufo.

⁴⁰The present writer was able to visit those at Adumfa, Bethel, Okanta, New Town, Sepe, and Bantama.

⁴¹The title 'prophet' was not given him by the COP. His followers call him prophet. A sign post at the main entrance leading to his homestead bears this designation.

Mintah is now in his 70s. He has no formal education. He gives the following as the circumstances that led to his ministry.

Events Leading to His Call and Ministry

Prophet Mintah believes that several years ago a retired minister of religion visited the Okanta village and revealed to the elders of the village that the land of Okanta is a "promised land" and that the inhabitants should be careful not to profane it. This emissary is said to have visited the village on two other occasions with the same message, adding a warning that if the land was not kept holy by the inhabitants, they would die.⁴²

He narrates that his parents did not heed the message so all of them died in rapid succession. Kojo Mintah also took to drunkenness, smoking, and adultery. He later lost his sight. During one of Osborne's meetings in Accra, Osborne is said to have prophesied that God was going to destroy all the sickness (of those at the meeting) by fire. It was however, required that the sick would confess all their sicknesses. Though Mintah was at the meeting, he was not healed. He believes this is because, he did not confess his sins.⁴³

Mintah then left and settled at Kyebi Odumase in the Eastern Region. Later at Odumasi, as a result of a directive he received from someone, he embarked on four days prayer in the nearby bush. On the fourth day, he claims to have heard an audible voice calling to him: "My servant, My servant, it is because of disobedience that is why all of you are perishing". He then asked for forgiveness.⁴⁴

According to him, he did not hear anything again until one month later, when he heard an audible voice. On this occasion, the details of the sins of Mintah and his relatives were indicated as being drunkenness, fornication/adultery, and smoking of tobacco and cigarettes, adding that because Mintah did not confess his sins during the crusade of Osborne he was not healed. He then prayed to God acknowledging the

⁴²Interview 15.8.9.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid. When he heard this voice, he originally thought he was being frightened by someone but later it dawned on him that the voice was that of God.

ignorance of the earlier inhabitants, pleading the blood of Christ for forgiveness. God then is said to have granted pardon to Mintah, adding that it was because He, God, was going to reveal His Word through him that he had called him.⁴⁵

Mintah then told God he would like to follow Jesus in His 40-day prayer and fasting experience. He claims God then asked him: "Are you able?" "Are you able?" "Are you able?" He did not hear the voice again. Mintah thereafter embarked on his 40 day fasting, and on the 40th day at 4 am he saw two angels. Though he was then blind he said the brightness that accompanied the movements of the angels was such that he could see. There after he saw someone he believed to be Jesus. This Being laid his hand upon him and prayed for him.⁴⁶

Ideological Framework

Mintah has a strong sense of God's call upon his life. For him the land of Okanta is a land of destiny, a place God has chosen to meet the needs of those who are oppressed and are heavy laden. Though the whole land of Okanta is a "land of promise" there is still a small portion of it that is considered consecrated, where God has promised to specially meet his people in prayer, and because of this, it is required that this ground should be approached with due reverence. This includes the removal of footwear by supplicants. This practice, according to Prophet Mintah, has its origins in a personal revelation he received from God. He did not introduce this practice because there is an evidence of it in the Bible. His, he believes was a direct revelation from God Himself. For him, the biblical parallels just confirm the authenticity of the practice.

He thinks his blindness has come not only as a result of the disobedience of his ancestors but also through his former wayward life. Mintah does not consider himself as a healer, he believes it is Jesus who heals through him. He believes he is specially gifted in exorcism and the healing of the insane. This is not to say that these are the only things his centre deals with. It handles several other issues. He however does not claim that all those who go to him for help are healed.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

Mintah believes that in the course of his ministry, he has had one major spiritual attack. A lady he knew turned into a snake and bit him. He thus became bedridden for ten years before he was fully recovered.⁴⁷

Unlike the spiritual churches, he shuns the use of florida water, incense, candles, holy water, and the involvement of angelic beings as agents of healing. The practice of removal of footwear on the praying ground is based on personal revelation which he believes he received from God. This practice is however restricted to the prayer grounds only.

He believes the healing ministry is incompatible with the works of the flesh. For him fornication, adultery, smoking of cigarettes and pipe are all sinful acts. The effects of these practices not only affect the individuals who indulge in them, but also can affect entire communities, as was the case with his ancestors.

The main weapons of the prophet and his team of associates are the Bible, the Name of Jesus, the agency of the Holy Spirit, coupled with prayer and fasting.

Praying in the bush, weekly all-night prayer meetings (usually on Fridays), and fortnightly retreats, characterise the practices of Mintah's group. All supplicants who join their Friday prayer meetings are requested to participate in fasting.⁴⁸

The Ethos of Mintah and COP

How does COP reconcile the practice of "shoe removing" with the overall ethos of the Church? Though the church seems to be uncertain about this practice, it has chosen not to interfere because of its belief in the dynamic nature of revelation.⁴⁹ The attitude of the ministers varies. The present district pastor, Agyei Danso, a university science graduate, joins the whole congregation in this practice whenever he

⁴⁷*Pentecost Fire* 1990, issue 91.

⁴⁸Apart from the team of Elders who now carry the bulk of the work at the camp in view of the age of Mintah, there is also a secretary attached to the camp. The present secretary is Elder Asare Kwabi. He keeps records of the camp and also acts as a personal assistant to the prophet.

⁴⁹That the God who spoke in biblical times still speaks today. It is however believed that whatever God says today should not contradict the Bible. Since the Bible does not specifically condemn the removal of footwear at a place of supplication, the church has remained ambivalent on this aspect of Mintah's ethos.

is on the prayer grounds. The present Area pastor, Pastor L. A. Nyarko, however, does not do this when he goes there. Mintah's followers, however do not have problems following this regulation. Rules and taboos are familiar feature of primal religion so most of the followers may already be familiar with legalism that goes with religion, and in any case, the followers indeed believe that God has spoken to Prophet Mintah on this.⁵⁰

Prophet Sampson Adum and the Suhum New Town Prayer Camp

The Prophet, His Call and Ministry

The founder of this camp is Elder Sampson Adum.⁵¹ Adum is now sixty-one years old. He has ten children, seven sons and three daughters. He worked as a goldsmith. He also worked with the then Ministry of Agriculture, Cocoa Division, as a labourer. Prophet Adum received his call into the healing ministry while he was a member of the Old Mangoase Methodist Church, near Suhum in the Eastern Region. He believes he received the baptism of the Holy Spirit through the ministry of the then catechist of the local Methodist Church.⁵²

Circumstances Leading to His Call and Ministry

Adum recalls that in the night of 1946, while he was sleeping, he heard a voice calling him, "Sampson!" When he enquired from his uncle, whether he was the one calling him, the answer was in the negative. He believes he heard the voice the second time, and during this time, he was given a bunch of keys in a vision. The voice came again the third time. He then went to the auditorium of the local Methodist Church to pray. On reaching there, he saw an outstretched arm with the command: "*Go: I have opened the way*".⁵³

⁵⁰During my discussion with his assistants on this, they immediately affirm their belief that the practice has a biblical base.

⁵¹The church officially calls him "Elder", though his followers have given him a higher title. Some call him a "man of God"; others call him the "Prophet of God".

⁵²Interview, 4. 9. 93.

⁵³Ibid.

He indicates that after this experience, God began to use him. The first person who benefited from his healing ministry was some one who had fallen from a passenger train at Mangoase.

He left the Methodist Church in 1952. After working with the Ministry of Agriculture in the surrounding villages of Mangoase, he moved to Suhum in 1956. In 1981 he began his healing ministry from his rented house, and later in 1984 moved to the present location of the camp.⁵⁴

All sorts of people go there with various problems. The records kept at the centre indicate that as at 4th March 1993, about 6925 people had visited this prayer centre for consultations. This, I am told, included a western expatriate manager who works with the Nsawam Cannery factory. As with the other prayer camps and prayer centres, some people resort to Adum after all the hospitals and other means have seemingly failed.⁵⁵

Here, unlike in Mintah's case, there is no sacred ground. As at Mintah's camp, fasting, prayers, the blood of Jesus, the name of Jesus, the power of the Holy Spirit, especially speaking in tongues, and the Word of God are the main weapons of warfare.

The Ideological Impulse

Like Prophet Mintah, Prophet Adum has a strong sense of God's call into the healing ministry. He believes God had personally revealed Himself to him, anointing him for the present healing and deliverance ministry, when he was given a bunch of

⁵⁴A lady who came under the influence of his ministry gave him the land on which the present prayer camp is located. This land therefore became the praying grounds of Adum. By 1984 the property had been developed to some extent through the generosity of some benefactors of his ministry. He thus moved his home to the site in 1984, where he now lives with the family.

⁵⁵One educated lady I met there testified to the gathering of God's healing power. She indicated that she previously had some skin disease, affecting the whole body. She lost all her hair in the process. She struggled with her disease for eight years. She tried all hospitals including the 37 Military Hospital in Accra, all to no avail. She then began attending Prophet Adum's prayer camp. At the time she was testifying, she was completely healed. Her hair was well groomed, and there was no evidence of any sickness. Her testimony was unsolicited. At the end of the meeting I interviewed her and her evidence confirmed her testimony.

keys and was told *"Go, I have opened the way"*. This vision, it appears, is still the ideological impulse of his ministry. Like Mintah's camp, he deals with all sorts of problems. However healing, by its very nature, takes most of his time. Though he believes that not every one that he ministers to is restored to wholeness, he thinks the majority of the people are healed.

Mrs Prophetess Grace Adu & The Adumfa Prayer Camp⁵⁶

Prophetess Adu believes she was called into the ministry through a revelation.⁵⁷ After an initial refusal to obey, she finally yielded around 1962/63.⁵⁸

The Prophetess has since risen to a place of influence. She confirms the late I.K. Acheampong (a former military head of state of Ghana) and some of his political figures consulted her on various occasions. She also receives invitations to travel outside the country.

The Adumfa camp is the biggest of all the camps in the country. The founder and her husband, Elder Adu, are very rich farmers. They have developed this place into a small township. Several chalets have been constructed by the Prophetess and her husband to provide accommodation facilities for some of the patients and their relatives. The couple also have buses and ambulances and other vehicles.

One peculiar and curious practice at this centre is that, the Prophetess asks suppliants to give some "offering" as a means of "summoning" the adversaries of the suppliants to God.⁵⁹ She also sells traditional herbs, referred to as "holy herbs".

⁵⁶This was the only camp where I could not secure all the information I needed. The prophetess did not seem to show much interest in the information I was looking for inspite of the official letter I carried with me and the presence of the District Pastor who explained my mission.

⁵⁷Before then she was in the Ivory Coast (Bontuku) with her husband. There she developed some serious sickness related to her pregnancy. Later, they returned to Ghana. Three months after her delivery, she and her husband went and consulted with a prophet in the Central Region.

⁵⁸She was reluctant to give details of this revelation.

⁵⁹This concept has its origin in the traditional religion.

Elder Joseph Yaw Boahen and Sepe Prayer Camp

The Call and Ministry of Boahen

Elder Boahen, a former business man, has been with the church of Pentecost for a very long time. Around the early part of 1960, he indicates he was walking along the Kejetia Market of Kumasi, when he saw a blind lady carrying a baby. Somehow, he felt a strong impulse to pray for her. He resisted but the inner compulsion became stronger. He then with some kind of trepidation, went to the woman and prayed for her healing. To his surprise, the woman was instantly healed. The woman, apparently startled, started shouting that she had received her sight, thereby drawing a large crowd.⁶⁰

It later dawned on him that he had been endowed with the gift of healing, so from 1965 he started his healing ministry on part-time basis. He did not enter into full-time healing ministry until later in 1979 when he was arrested and his trading wares were confiscated by the Rawlings' military government for alleged profiteering.⁶¹ Later on, there was a directive prophecy from some one within the Church of Pentecost that the losses Boahene sustained was as a result of his failure to devote full attention to the work of God. Later the idea of converting his prayer centre into a prayer camp was suggested to him by the then Regional Minister, Apostle Ansong. He thus, from his own resources, set up the present camp.

Though Boahen deals with all sorts of problems, healing occupies the uppermost level. He, like the other prophets and prophetesses, admits that not every one gets healed at his camp. He believes, however that several people have received healing and deliverance through the agency of his camp. Those healed, we were told, include a man who had been insane for 22 years.

Prophet Annor's Solution Centre

Annor's Conversion and Ministry

This weekly Thursday prayer meeting popularly known as the **Solution Centre**, is a reputable prayer centre within the International Central Gospel Church.

⁶⁰Interview, 13.8.93.

⁶¹Ibid.

The ministry is well patronised by people from different churches. It seeks to address the healing, deliverance, economic and other material needs of the people.

Annor was formerly associated with the Presbyterian Church. He believes he had a real primary conversion through the SU in 1967. One day, while working on the family farm, he states that he had a revelation about the pending death of his father and another man. The details of the vision were all fulfilled.⁶²

Later life became very hard for the family so Annor relocated to Tamale. Meanwhile he had not been using his revelatory gift. At Tamale, he became homeless and was subsequently provided with accommodation by Rev. Botwe of the Church of Pentecost. In consequence, he became a member of that church and he began using his revelatory gifts again.⁶³

Later on he located to Accra, where he started worshipping with Prophet Mensah's Church of Christ, Spiritual, an offshoot of Church of Pentecost. He later joined the Kanda Fellowship where he became Prayer Secretary. Otabil was then the evangelism Secretary.⁶⁴

Annor indicates that he had a severe stomach ulcer and was cured through prayer. His personal experience of the healing power of God has amply convinced him of God's healing power. He now operates with optimism that no matter what kind of sickness is brought to him, until the person dies, *"I will continue to tell him there is hope for you"*.⁶⁵

Though the entire ministry gravitates around Pastor Annor, he insists *"I did not start it"*. He reports that after his wedding in 1988, by the time he returned from his honeymoon, somebody had been assigned to do his job at ICGC. He was according to him, "sort of rendered redundant". Just at that time some members of the church had apparently taken note of his interest in prayer. He reports that about

⁶²Interview, 3,10.93.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid. Prophet Annor is sought after by different people, especially the critically sick. His presence seems to engender hope to the hopeless. His simplicity of life and his humility appear to be his greatest strength.

eight people, including Mrs Nketia, Gladys Konu, Mrs Osei, and Gloria Duah, who had started a prayer meeting at Accra New Town, (this place later became the place of worship of Victory Bible Church, led by Tackie Yarboi), requested Annor to pray with them.

When their number started increasing, they were evicted from the house. They then moved to the annex of Baden Powell-Memorial Hall. Their number continued to increase so the leadership of ICGC gave them the use of the main auditorium. Annor's organisation was restructured in 1989 in order for it to fit into the framework of ICGC. Annor is gifted particularly in *diagnostic revelation*. This becomes quite evident when he begins to minister. Several cases of healing have been reported at his prayer centre. According to Annor, the main problems his centre has dealt with in the past:

- . Health problems
- . Marriage problems
- . Employment problems
- . Need for travel visa
- . Financial problems
- . Bad dreams believed to be influenced by demons.

His ministry has continued to grow numerically.

Evangelist Owusu Tabiri & The Bethel Prayer Camp

Owusu Tabiri, His Call and Ministry

One of the prayer camps which has a very recent origin but has grown in popularity is the Bethel Prayer Camp.

Owusu Tabiri is 53 years old. He retired from the Police Service as an inspector in 1977. He has since been in business and in oil palm farming (500 acre plantation). He was the Brong Ahafo Regional Deacon of the Church of Pentecost and the Field Representative for the Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International, Brong Ahafo.

The call of Owusu Tabiri into full time evangelistic and healing ministry followed a series of events. First, while he was on a rather unsuccessful business trip to the USA to establish business contacts for his proposed oil mill at Sunyani, he ran into a personal misfortune. He lost all the personal effects he took with him, except

the Bible, a note book, and a suit. The Lord then is said to have spoken to him one night to return to Ghana to do His work "else my dead body would be brought back".⁶⁶

Because of his financial commitments to individuals and some financial institutions in Ghana, he was reluctant to return. He was however, assured of God's help through a dream he had.⁶⁷ In his dream, he narrates:

The Lord told me "My son I am going to make you like Elijah". Elijah was standing about 12 yards from me. He prayed and fire came from Heaven. While the fire was burning the Lord asked me to pray and quench the fire. I prayed a prayer of faith, and water was poured from heaven and it quenched the fire. After the feat, the Lord told me that He had made me like Elijah, so I should go out and do His work. If I say anything in His name it shall come to pass.⁶⁸

When he returned to Ghana he is reported to have ministered at a FGBMFI at Prestea during which a blind woman in the Methodist choir received her sight and also a deaf and dumb woman was healed.⁶⁹

Two years before the above vision, Owusu Tabiri indicates that one Dr Friday from Nigeria had informed him of a revelation he had that God was going to use Tabiri.⁷⁰

In 1990 the Sunyani District of the COP scheduled a crusade for July. Being the Regional Deacon, he was delegated with the responsibility of inviting Prophetess Sarah Donkor of Goka to be the main speaker. When the delegation contacted her she declined the invitation with the response that God could equally use Owusu Tabiri as He would use her. The proposed crusade thus changed into a Holy Ghost Convention during which Tabiri ministered alongside the Regional Apostle and other pastors. And he tells us that "The Holy Spirit used me mightily to the amazement of myself and

⁶⁶*Pentecost Fire* 1991, 5.

⁶⁷*Bethel News*, 4.

⁶⁸*Pentecost Fire*, Issue 95, 1991, 4; cf. *Bethel News* 1993, 5.

⁶⁹*Bethel News*, 4 cf. *Pentecost Fire*, issue 95, 1991.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*

all".⁷¹

He then began his deliverance ministry the following day after the convention (7th July 1990), when seven people called on him in his house for help. They went together to the former prayer site of the COP where he prayed for them. Mrs Martha Adu Wusu who had been suffering from haemorrhage for eleven years was healed.⁷² This initial group of seven increased in the ensuing years until the group decided to meet every Tuesday at 9.00 a.m. at the same site. Later the place was named the Bethel Prayer Camp. Owusu Tabiri was officially called into the ministry of Evangelist in 1991 during the Koforidua General Council Meeting. He was thus ordained to perform full ministerial functions. The camp was officially inaugurated by Apostle (Rtd.) C.C.A. Hushie on 9th July, 1992.⁷³

Owusu Tabiri's ministry has seen a very rapid growth.⁷⁴ He is in high demand among the membership of the COP both in Ghana and elsewhere. He regularly ministers in Burkina Faso, the Ivory Coast, Paris, Hamburg, Bremen, Amsterdam, and England and Canada.⁷⁵

It appears his literacy has contributed to the rapid growth of his ministry. Of the major camps under the auspices of COP, Tabiri's camp was the first one to produce a magazine covering his activities. He has also produced several video and audio cassettes covering some of his meetings. His tapes are in circulation both in Ghana and abroad. He has articulated his belief and aspects of his teachings in a more

⁷¹*Bethel News*, 5 cf. *Pentecost Fire* Issue 95, 1991.

⁷²Mrs Wusu had previously consulted with Doctors at 37 Military Hospital, Sunyani Central Hospital, and the Asokore Hospital without improvement (*Pentecost Fire*, issue 95, 1991, 4).

⁷³*Bethel News*, 5.

⁷⁴According to some statistics published in the *Bethel News*, issue 1, page 12, by 12th of February 1993,
18,977 people have accepted Christ at the Camp
9,750 had been baptised in water
8,400 have received the baptism of the Holy Spirit
Attendance at the monthly "Breaking" meetings attract over 44,000 people.

⁷⁵Apart from his ministries in La Cote D'Ivoire and Burkina Faso, his other ministries in the West were primarily to an African audience.

systematic way than the others.

The Ideological Perspectives of the Prayer Camps:

The Case of Owusu Tabiri

Tabiri strongly believes that God has called him to bring salvation to the needy. He affirms:

I am determined to meet the needs of the people. I am determined to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and Him only. I do not preach social gospel. I do not preach verbal gospel. I want people to see God. The Kingdom of God is not a weak Kingdom; it is a powerful Kingdom. I take the Holy Spirit as my senior Pastor. The full power and the manifestation of the gift of the spirit is utilised.⁷⁶

He sets out as his vision and goal, the fulfilment of what he sees as the five-fold ministry of Jesus:

1. The Gospel of salvation and reconciliation.
2. The Gospel of sanctification and righteousness.
3. The Gospel of Divine healing, deliverance, and the manifestation of the power of the Holy Spirit.
4. The Gospel of Prosperity, material and Financial Blessings.
5. The Gospel of Divine Judgement and eternal Heaven.⁷⁷

He believes he has seven weapons at his disposal, and that "no devil can stand, and no obstacle cannot be broken" when they are applied. He lists these weapons as:⁷⁸

- a. The Word of God
- b. The Name of Jesus
- c. The Blood of Jesus
- d. The Holy Ghost Power
- e. Prayer and Fasting
- f. Worship/Singing and Praises
- g. Testimonies

He believes he has been called to "shake the kingdom of satan and to crush its powers and to liberate those under satanic bondage. To set the captives free and to

⁷⁶*Pentecost Fire* 1991, 5.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

meet the needs of the people".⁷⁹

Tabiri's Ideological Perspective

Owusu Tabiri's theology is a fusion of an Akan traditional world-view about the spirit-force and their operations, and evangelical pentecostal understanding of the Bible and the nature of the universe. He is not interested in the art of diagnosis based on delineating regularities of symptom complexes. His main concern is with etiological distinctions, whether the problem has a natural or a spiritual explanation. However, the spiritual explanations are more evident in his diagnosis than the natural. His traditional world view seems to have a dominant influence on his theological understanding. He strongly believes in the existence and operations of witches, that they can operate within a particular district; that they eat human flesh, and drink human blood. He is said to have demonstrated this during the 1992 COP Annual Christmas Convention of the Berekum District, of which he was the main speaker. At the start of the convention, the Evangelist is reported to have prayed with the congregation "decreeing" that no wizard or witch should:

- i. operate within Berekum District for the next six months,
- ii. eat human flesh, and,
- iii. drink human blood during the same period.⁸⁰

It is reported that some witches disobeyed that night, and attempted to operate at Kato, a suburb of Berekum, which is believed to be "the Central Supermarket for the witches".⁸¹ Because of this disobedience, we are told that

The 'spoil' they were carrying and their monies fell down at Kato when they were overpowered by the host of God. Their 'spoil' fell down. It looked human flesh. No flies could perch on the meat. Dogs also avoided the 'meat'. The money that fell was mostly old currencies including Gold Coast half pennies. Many travellers on the road stopped

⁷⁹*Bethel News*, 20.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, 19.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

to look at the 'meat' and several people took pictures.⁸²

In the Akan world view, human beings can turn into snakes and bite their opponents.⁸³ Owusu Tabiri believes just that. Along this line, we are told that at a woman from Fiapre in the Brong Ahafo Region, was bitten by a snake in her bath room at Sampa. After her initial treatment at Sampa Health Post, she was rushed to the Brekum Hospital, where her condition is said to have worsened. She was then transferred to the Holy Family Hospital, and was later referred to Sunyani General Hospital. The report continued that at Sunyani Hospital she received fourteen litres of blood transfusion, but there was no improvement. Rather her stomach became swollen and hardened, and she was given three hours to live. Her brother therefore rushed her to the Bethel Camp, where she was prayed for and was "completely healed". *"Later her rival confessed that she turned herself into the snake that bit her."*⁸⁴

As in the Akan primal world view, he also believes that human beings can inflict curses on others with fatal consequences;⁸⁵ these curses can have a reflex effect on the one who sent out the curse; through witchery and sorcery, relatives can hamper the prosperity of their relations;⁸⁶ money can be turned into ants or other insects; cultic snakes can vomit currency notes;⁸⁷ human reproductive organs could be rendered impotent by adversaries;⁸⁸ marital relations can be disrupted by witches or through sorcery; insects like hornets and bees can be discharged against one's adversaries.⁸⁹ He, like the traditional priests, believes witches and wizards can be

⁸²Ibid., 18, 24. The magazine carried a picture of what was believed to be the spoils that fell.

⁸³See for example, Magaret Field 1960, 130f.

⁸⁴Ibid., 23. Emphasis are mine.

⁸⁵Ibid., 6.

⁸⁶Ibid., 9, 15.

⁸⁷Ibid., 10, 14.

⁸⁸Ibid., 16.

⁸⁹Audio Cassette, Breaking 3.

arrested by a deity.⁹⁰ He also believes, as in the traditional view, that one's *anuonyam*⁹¹ can be removed by a witch and be replaced by the glory of an animal, thereby affecting the progress and prosperity of the individual.⁹²

The Strategy of Warfare: Binding, Breaking, Bombing

Owusu Tabiri believes, *binding*, *breaking* and *bombing* are concepts which God has revealed to Him as potent strategy of warfare. He believes that before one can do away with the forces that fight against him or her the individual has first and foremost to *bind* them, thereby rendering them immobile. This must be followed by what he calls *breaking*. The breaking destroys the object being used against the individual. The *bombing* then follows. This exercise completely destroys the force that is against the victim or the suppliant.

He has recently added one more factor to these three steps. He now states that before "Bombing", one must discharge **hornets** to go and beat up the forces that war against the client. He bases this on Exodus 23:28.⁹³ Though Owusu Tabiri bases this concept on the Bible, the traditional influence is apparent. In the traditional view, bees, hornets, and similar insects can be controlled and manipulated against one's adversaries, to devastating effect.

The Concept and Practice of *Breaking*

Though the concept of "binding", "bombing", sending out hornets and 'breaking' are the main strategic terms in Tabiri's healing camp, the concept of 'breaking' is the most important. The climax of his healing and deliverance ministry is in his monthly mammoth meetings which have come to be called '*breaking*'. He writes, "As a matter of fact, what has popularly come to be known as **BREAKING**

⁹⁰ibid; cf. Appendix: *Testimonies* "On the spot arrest, witch refunds 3.2 million cedis".

⁹¹Countenance, or the glory of an individual.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Owusu Tabiri, audio cassette, **Breaking** - 3, n.d.

is a revelation I had from God and it is yielding results".⁹⁴

Breaking takes place every month except when Tabiri is away from the country. The exercise lasts for five days, Monday to Friday, with two major meetings every day, from 9 am to 4 pm and 7 pm to 10 pm. The actual breaking takes place on the Thursday preceding the last day of meeting. Fasting is considered as having some efficacy for the breaking. All the able bodied are encouraged to fast from morning to about 6 pm. Mothers with children do it up to 12 mid-day. Expectant mothers are encouraged to fast up to 9 am.⁹⁵

During the week of **breaking** though pastors, elders, and deacons are involved, the central figure is Owusu Tabiri. He does most of the preaching and teaching. He believes obedience to Jesus/God, the Word of God, and the Holy Spirit is crucial for one's total healing. In all his teaching, Christ is the centre. His role as the saviour from sin, the healer, the deliverer/protector, and provider are stressed.

He believes man's number one enemy is the devil, not political structures, or institutional structures of society. He therefore believes it is pointless preaching against governments or people. Failure to identify who is the real enemy in the spiritual combat, prevents the release of God's anointing for healing and deliverance.⁹⁶

Tabiri shares the following perspective on the role of theological training for ministerial work:

People ask me if I have been to Bible School and if so where? My response to this question is that I have been to "the University of the Holy Ghost". My tutor is Prof. Holy Spirit. I depend upon the Holy Spirit's leading and power. I have made the Holy Spirit my senior Partner. I do not draw programmes. I leave that to Him and He directs me what to do, and when to do it and how to do it.⁹⁷

As in classic pentecostalism, he has a strong Christological emphasis. He believes everything must be centred on Christ, for He is the ultimate source of man's

⁹⁴*Bethel News*, 20.

⁹⁵Interview with Elder Kommey Tetteh, 22.7.93.

⁹⁶Cassette, Breaking 3.

⁹⁷*Bethel News*, 20.

salvation (healing, prosperity, protection, deliverance, forgiveness of sins and reconciliation with God).⁹⁸ His christological emphasis seems to differ from that of classic pentecostalism in that he appears to raise the "deliverance and healing" activities of Christ and the salvation of the "soul of the individual" to the same plane.⁹⁹ He also seems to differ from classic pentecostalism in that in his preaching almost nothing is said about the second coming of Christ. This perhaps is due to the fact that he sees himself as an evangelist called to help people to live in the "existential here and now" rather than to "prepare people for heaven".

In line with classic pentecostalism, he believes traditional priests and other religious systems apart from Christianity are just perpetrating the activities of the devil. He believes they have nothing to offer their clients. He writes

Who is your shepherd? Is it Akonedi? Is it Tigare Shrine? Is it Kankan Nyame? Is it Kwaku Fri? or Kwaku Black? Who speaks to you?
... Who is the shepherd of your body? Have you sold your body to the devil to use as he wills?

Who is the shepherd of your Business and Finances? Have you placed them under the bad shepherd? The devil has agents like the Queen of the Coast, Mame Water, juju men/women, Occults, Hinduism, Buddhism, Mallams and other sooth sayers. They pretend to be good shepherds but they are lions in the wolf's skin. ... The devil is your enemy and Jesus is your friend. Jesus, the good shepherd has laid down His life for the sheep. ... I therefore invite you to follow the good shepherd.¹⁰⁰

Also in line with classic and neo-pentecostalism, Owusu Tabiri decries the spiritual churches for their use of "holy water", "florida water" candles, incense, "the practice of soil eating" ritual bath, and their involvement of angelic beings in the

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Classic Pentecostalism operates with an underlying assumption that the soul of individuals is more important and therefore it commits much of its resources to this. It sees the salvation of the soul of the individual as having more eternal relevance than the here and now needs of the individual. Owusu Tabiri does not seem to draw this kind of dichotomy in his evangelistic activities, though he would admit that the value of the soul is more important than the material needs.

¹⁰⁰*Bethel News*, 21.

healing process. He believes they are of no consequence to one's well-being.¹⁰¹

Like the neo-Pentecostals, he believes that through Christ, the Christian must be able to enjoy the "blessings of Abraham".¹⁰² If the Christian therefore is not enjoying this, then it is his/her fault.¹⁰³ Owusu Tabiri spends most of his time praying for people with various economic and financial problems. Many of these so-called economic and financial problems, are associated with the work of some evil forces. Several testimonies are given as to the efficacy of his intercessory prayers.¹⁰⁴

He also believes that one can be a member of the church, participating in the activities of the church, and still be under demonic oppression in areas such as marital problems, health, economic well-being and, childbirth. Breaking is therefore necessary if one is to be free to enjoy total well-being. This places him in the camp of the deliverance theology within neo-pentecostalism.¹⁰⁵

One does not have to be a Christian before seeking for succour at his services. The door is open to all! For him, it appears, what matters most is the help the individual needs, not his or her moral standing. However the salvation package as presented by Owusu Tabiri and his team of leaders is such that in the final analysis one needs to become a Christian in order to appropriate fully the salvific grace of God, as mediated by Tabiri and the Bethel Camp.

According to Elder Kommey Tetteh, Owusu Tabiri's deputy, the final process for the actualization of one's healing requires the application of the Word of God, Water Baptism, and Holy Ghost Baptism. When a sick or needy person goes to the camp, the healing process begins with preaching/teaching. Somewhere along the line, the initiates are led to say what has come to be termed "the sinners' prayer".¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²Galatians 3:13.

¹⁰³Cassette, **Breaking 3**, n.d.

¹⁰⁴See our sample testimonies.

¹⁰⁵Cassette, **Breaking 3**, n.d.

¹⁰⁶Here the initiates are asked to raise up their hands (this is believed to be the sign of surrender to Christ), and mention their respective names, and repeat words like *"From today going, I (the name of the individual), accept Jesus Christ as my Lord*

Water baptism then follows.¹⁰⁷

Though the blood and the name of Jesus are considered efficient and sufficient for the salvation of the suppliant, water and Holy Spirit baptism are considered crucial part of the healing process for those who have not yet experienced these.

Candidates who are admitted to the camps with serious sicknesses are discharged only when they have received water and Holy Ghost baptism. But since for some it takes some time before they experience the Holy Spirit baptism, some prolong their stay at the camp in order to receive the experience. This experience is considered as the final sign of incorporation into the body. The experience also equips the initiate against all forms of attacks.

For Church of Pentecost, of which Owusu Tabiri represents, water baptism is not just a sign of obedience where the initiate symbolically identifies with Christ in His death, burial, and resurrection.¹⁰⁸ It also means:

I've been cleansed; my old life died with Christ; I've been brought into God's family. We are not brought into a "denomination" but "into Christ" (Romans 6:3)... Baptism is a ceremony of initiation, or admission into God's Family and signifies what God did at our conversion, what happened when we received Christ at conversion (John 1:12, 13).¹⁰⁹

With regard to the Spirit baptism, the emphasis is not so much as that of "a sign of one having received the baptism of the Holy Spirit". Its existential value is what seems significant. The church teaches that the experience makes the initiate

and my personal saviour". The initiates are then prayed for by invoking the name of Jesus, and the use of words like "I break every yoke of bondage; I break every ancestral spirit; I break every satanic and demonic spirit; I break the spirit of sickness, poverty, death" The pattern used here is essentially the same as what is found among both classic and neo-pentecostalism.

¹⁰⁷In some situations, both the water and Holy Spirit baptism take place simultaneously. At times, the experience of the Holy Spirit baptism precedes water baptism.

¹⁰⁸Opoku Onyina/AIWC, n.d. *Foundations of Faith*, 12f.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 11f.

strong in the spirit. It gives him power to live the Christian life. It helps him in his prayers. It equips him for the spiritual warfare. It enables him to speak to God directly in a language that no one, even the devil, understands. In this case, the initiate "by passes" so to speak, the normal transmission channels in communicating with God. This puts him in direct contact with the Divine Being, God.¹¹⁰

For him obedience to God's Word includes participating in the communal fasting, faith in the person and the work of Jesus, and completely renouncing all forms of idolatry. Water Baptism, and Holy Spirit Baptism are the required rituals the initiates go through before leaving Bethel. The Holy Communion is not celebrated here mainly because of the required preparations needed.¹¹¹

He spends little or no time on issues dealing with holiness and moral purity. This may be due to the fact that this is the recurrent and familiar theme at the local assemblies of the Church of Pentecost.¹¹²

Tabiri believes in the dynamic nature of what may be called "General Revelation", that God still speaks today through dreams, prophecies and visions. He

¹¹⁰Opoku Onyina, *Basics for Christians*, 1989, 14f. This is the understanding one forms by listening to the conversations, discussions, and teachings of church members. On the value of tongues, Professor Anquandah, one of the key members of the movement in Ghana, puts it thus: "Of course we do need the gift of tongues to keep direct spiritual contact with God" (James Anquadah, *The Ecumenical Review* 31, 1979, 258).

¹¹¹Because of the solemn nature the Sacrament of the Holy Communion is celebrated at the local assemblies, this ritual is not administered at the Bethel Camp. The church places much emphases on how this sacrament is celebrated. Normally a week long preparation in fasting and prayers forms part of the celebration. Since Owusu Tabiri and his helpers insist that initiates should attend one of the local assemblies of COP, it is expected that the new members would join with other believers at their respective assemblies to celebrate it in the required manner.

¹¹²At the local church level, apart from prayer, great emphasis is placed on what the individual does. Fornication, adultery, drinking of alcohol, and smoking.

does not call himself a prophet, yet his followers ascribe this designation to him. Though he strongly believes God has called him into the healing and deliverance ministries, there is no evidence of personality cult.¹¹³ The Bible, the African (Akan) primal world view, the ethos and spirituality of his parent church (COP), are the main sources that underpin his theological understanding and ethos.

Prayer Camps and Prayer Centres: An Interpretation

Professor Baeta observes that:

The 'spiritual churches' represent a turning away from [the] traditional resources of supernatural succour in order that help may be sought, for the same purposes, from the God proclaimed in the Christian evangel. *As the needs, cravings and hopes remained unchanged, so also the basic ideas regarding the character of the universe, of its forces, their possibilities and the modes of their operation, have been preserved intact.* In point of fact, this turning away 'from idols to serve a living and true God, does not appear to be essentially different from the usual practice in African religion whereby a god or fetish which has plainly failed to meet the requirements of its suppliants, is abandoned in order that another one, believed to be more effective, may be embraced. The 'spiritual churches' indeed have a very strong conviction that at long last the passage has been made from error to truth, from the wrong path to the right one, from darkness to light; and that, because this is so, the newly-found resource of helpful power cannot fail.¹¹⁴

Baeta's observation, though made in reference to the spiritual churches, can as well apply to the prayer camps.

The Burdens of the People

Magaret Field's analysis of the complaints and requests made at certain cultic shrines, provides us with the details on what she calls "The troubles and desires of

¹¹³Unlike what is normally found among some of the leaders of the Spiritual churches as well as some among the leadership of the neo-pentecostal churches, he does not draw attention to himself. He does not see himself as occupying a special position among fellow believers. His emphasis is on Christ.

¹¹⁴Baeta 1962, 135. Italics mine.

ordinary people" in the decades preceding 1960.

Similar analysis of the concerns of suppliants of the Sepe, Okanta, New Town and Bethel Camps, confirmed that indeed "the troubles and desires of the ordinary people" have remained the same. It is not only the so-called "ordinary people" who rely on the prayer camps and prayer centres for supernatural succour, but also the sophisticated and educated. At these "solution centres" the socio-economic line of divide breaks down.

We observed that at the Okanta and the New Town camps, located in the Eastern Region, in the period that we studied, financial and economic problems took precedence over health and all other needs. However, at the Sepe camp, located at Kumasi, in the Ashanti Region, health problems were the single dominant need.

Issues like sick children, need for children, issues related to pregnancy, help in new enterprises, marital issues, need for money, protection against adversaries, educational problems, lawsuits, prayer for the return of stolen property, issues related to witchcraft and bad magic, the death of relatives and family members, visa arrangements, are the most common needs which the various camps and prayer centres address.

The Need for Protection

In our survey of some of the members and leaders of the Church of Pentecost, the International Central Gospel Church, and some leaders from the Action Faith Ministry, the Grace Outreach Church, Victory Bible Church, Global Revival Church, Apostolic Reformed Church, Christ Apostolic Church, and the Apostolic Church, every one agreed that every Ghanaian sees the need for "protection".¹¹⁵ However, when we checked the records of Sepe camp in Kumasi, the issue of "protection" was not among the major troubles and desires of the people. This contrasts with the general belief. It also contrasts sharply with the observation of Field that

¹¹⁵The respondents believe that though every Ghanaian sees this as a necessity, the sources of succour where people look for such protection differ. The respondents suggested that whereas the committed Christians normally look to God through Christ (the blood of Jesus, the name of Jesus, and the Word of God, are the main agents in this category), the non believers resort to other forms of help, like the local divinities, and protective charms.

The mentally ill people comprise only a very small proportion of the pilgrims who flock to these shrines not only from within Ashanti but from distant parts of Akan Ghana. The great majority are healthy people supplicating for "protection". Financially successful men are full of fear lest envious kinsmen should, by means of bad magic or witchcraft, bring about their ruin.¹¹⁶

The data we collected from Sepe did not confirm this.¹¹⁷

The Need for Health and Economic Well-Being

The two major areas of concern of the people in the country are basically that of health and financial/ economic issues. The data we obtained from the various camps demonstrates this. This need becomes understandable when viewed from the background of economic difficulties in the country beginning from Acheampong's reign, reaching their peak in Rawlings' era, which precipitated a downward trend in the medical services in the country.¹¹⁸

Around 1990 there were about only 1000 qualified medical doctors working in the government hospitals. The economic situation in the country, coupled with lack of better working conditions compelled most of the country's qualified medical doctors, especially the newly qualified, to leave the country in search of greener pastures, particularly in western countries and especially Britain. As a measure to counteract this economic refugeeism of the medical personnel, the Rawlings government felt that since the training of the Ghanaian doctors over qualifies them,

¹¹⁶Field 1960, 87.

¹¹⁷It is not at all clear why the Sepe camp did not have to deal with the issue of "protection" for a period of almost two years. It appears since the Prophet in charge, Elder Boahen, is specially gifted in healing, supplicants go there for this particular needs reserving the other needs to perhaps, the nearby Bantam prayer centre. It may also be that those in need of protection do go to the not-too-far away Sunyani based Bethel Camp, where Owusu Tabiri seems to specialise in this. It could also be that in the Ashanti Region, there is still some other supernatural source of protection, other than those mentioned.

¹¹⁸Economically the Ashanti Region is far richer than the Eastern Region where most of the suppliants of the Okanta and New Town camps come from. This perhaps explains the reason why the concerns of the suppliants at the sepe camps (most of whom are from that region) are to do with sickness rather than economic.

thereby enabling them to export their skills, their training should be limited to tropical related disease. At the moment it is not clear whether this threat was carried out or not.

The medical care offered by the government hospitals is anything but adequate. The services that the hospitals are able to offer are not entirely free for one would have to buy most of the prescriptions from the private sector at exorbitant prices. Few people can afford to meet this cost. Ordinary people also cannot afford to pay the charges at the private hospitals.

Sources of Healing

The traditional healers, as we indicated in an earlier chapter, until the emergence of the spiritual and pentecostal churches, were the major source of supernatural succour for the people. Though their significance has waned, they still play the role as healers in Ghanaian society and are one source of healing in the country.

The services of these cults can be very expensive.¹¹⁹ In some situations the cost for treatment can be up to the value of a cow. Supplicants are sometimes asked to provide a whole cow.¹²⁰ Another problem related to the traditional shrines is that not everyone can conveniently go there. For example, under no circumstances could a member of the COP visit any of the traditional shrines. Muslim spiritualists, popularly referred to as Mallams, are another source for supernatural succour. On the whole, this group appear to form only a marginal part of the healing cults in Ghana. Their healing activities, like the traditional cults, can also be very expensive. The Spiritual Churches are another source of healing in the country. However, many Christians see them as non Christian cults, using demonic powers for selfish ends.¹²¹ Moreover, their healing activities often require some financial outlay by supplicants.

¹¹⁹W.S. Mensah-Dapaah 1979. "Observations on traditional healing methods in Ghana" in *African therapeutic systems*, 110-113.

¹²⁰Magaret Field 1960, 154.

¹²¹Our survey indicated that both pentecostals and neo-pentecostals see them in this light.

The foregoing factors make the prayer camps the readily available, tangible, affordable, and generally acceptable and viable alternative source of healing for many in the country. Here both the rich and poor can go since the services are free. Since the leadership belongs to the evangelical world of the Christian faith, all strands of Christians, nominal and committed, can seek help from them without any sense of guilt. This is perhaps the most significant factor that has given rise to the prayer camps, as God's answer to the supplications of the sick, the poor, and the needy.

The complaints and requests suppliants make at these camps are no different from those made at the cultic shrines and the Spiritual Churches as documented by Field and others, and the camps seem to have effectively come to replace the functions of the traditional shrines.¹²² The leaders of the camps, through their preaching, teaching, healing, and deliverance ministries, demonstrate that Christ is the only true, sufficient and efficient source of help and hope. They have at the same time demonstrated that the traditional cults are nothing more than the agents of Satan whose power is subservient to Christ. Their affirmations about the superiority of Christ, supported by suppliants' claims of supernatural visitation, primarily through the experience of healing, miracles, deliverance, and material prosperity, have confirmed them as the most authentic, easily available, and inexpensive source of supernatural succour. It is in this regard that the camps have rendered the traditional shrines as irrelevant.

Their role as superior healers within the Ghanaian society and the perennial drive of the human soul for the **ultimate reality**, appear to be the main indicators that draw suppliants to the Prayer Camps and Prayer Centres. The majority of these suppliants end up becoming pentecostals, or at least becoming favourably disposed to pentecostalism, thereby enhancing the course of the pentecostal movement in Ghana.

Both the simple and the sophisticated, the rich and the poor, the young and the old, visit these camps.¹²³ Some people travel to the country specifically to seek

¹²²Interestingly, in the period between 1988 and 1993 which saw the growth and expansion of Pentecostalist organisations, the Spiritual churches saw a fall in their membership (GEC *National Church Survey* 1993, 95).

¹²³For example, the following people within Ghanaian society, were converted to the pentecostal faith as a result of their contact with the "prayer camps". Dr Arthur,

supernatural succour at the camps. Some are taken there by relatives, and others who go there on their own accord. There are commuters as well as the gravely ill, who by virtue of their condition take lodgings at the camp.¹²⁴ Some of the people who obtain help from the camps remain there permanently to offer voluntary help.¹²⁵ As with the traditional shrines, suppliants return there occasionally to pay their pledges, give their testimonies, and ask for continued prayer support.¹²⁶

Attendance varies from camp to camp. During some of the special occasions like the occasional *Breaking Period* at the Bethel Prayer Camp, over 40,000 people are believed to attend the five-day (Monday to Friday) event. One of the less serious cases we found at one of the Camps (Bethel Camp) was in respect of some able bodied young men who had taken residence at the camp for some days waiting for the "Breaking Period", believing that their presence there would bring some kind of change in their economic circumstances.¹²⁷ Apart from this isolated instance, most

proprietor of Nungua Clinic, and the medical consultant of Ghana Posts and Telecommunications Corporation; he is also the president of one of the Ghana Chapters of the **Full Gospel Businessmen Fellowship International**. Professor Addae, Deputy Chief Executive of Ghana National Petroleum Company, Colonel Donkor, one time Special Assistant to President J.J. Rawlings; Kwame Nyanteh, a former presidential candidate. Dr Arthur confirmed his encounter with the Adumfa Prayer Camp during a personal interview with the writer on 25th August, 1993. Kwame Nyanteh's experience was narrated to me by Apostle Ato Addison, General Secretary of COP, 1988-1983, during an interview on 8th July, 1993. It was corroborated by Prophet J.K. Anum, the former COP regional head of Eastern Region 'A'. (Kwame Nyanteh lives within this district). We also met Azuma Nelson's mother at the Okanta Prayer Camp. Azuma is a very wealthy world-class boxer.

¹²⁴Among these are the mentally deranged. Some of the serious ones are in chains. Others are bedridden people whose physical mobility depends upon their helpers.

¹²⁵The main Elder in charge of the Bethel Prayer Camp, Elder Kommey Tetteh, testifies that he initially visited the camp because of a mental problem. He has since remained there permanently. The rest of the helpers we met there have similar stories.

¹²⁶Though no charges are made at the camps, they thrive on the voluntary pledges and gifts and offerings made by suppliants. These are the main sources of support for the camps.

¹²⁷We perceived that all that these young men required was some good counselling and their presence at the camps might not be necessary at all.

of the people we found there had real serious problems, some of them were very pathetic. Before some of the more serious sicknesses were taken to the camps, the supplicants had in most cases tried the hospitals.¹²⁸

Some of the camps have attained national prominence because of reported miracles of healing and deliverance that take place there. The Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), J.J. Rawlings, was the "special guest of honour" during the 10th Anniversary celebrations of the Sefwi Asafo Prayer Camp in September 1992.

Supplicants do not necessarily stick to one particular camp, neither do they necessarily attend the camps within their localities. The reason for this appears to be that of desperation. This is in line with the practice of the adherents of the traditional religion. The more contacts as one is able to make with various shrines and shrine leaders, the higher the possibility of securing maximum help, whatever that is.

The Leadership and Administration of the Camps

The prophet or the prophetess is the unquestioned head of the camps and the centres. The power and authority of the prophet or prophetess is recognised and respected by all, including the pastors under whose jurisdiction the camps are situated. These leaders are aided by a team of elders and helpers Who take an active part in praying for the needy, communicating visions and dreams, and advising the suppliants. Since most of the leaders are illiterates or semi-illiterates, the day to day administration lies mainly in the hands of these few helpers. These elders occupy positions analogous to those of elders in traditional religion.

Though each camp operates under the jurisdiction of a district pastor who makes occasional visits, they are entirely autonomous entities within the church. They have control over their funds, put up structures and plan their own programmes and activities, which may be entirely different from the activities of the church. They only pay tithes to the COP Head Office through their respective regions. The Church itself does not provide any material or financial support either in the setting up or their

¹²⁸These include the mentally deranged men and women who are normally put in chains, those who were completely bedridden, and mothers with very sick children, who apparently had not received adequate help from the nation's hospitals.

operation.

Administrative and Organisation Problems

At the moment judging from the information we gathered from the leadership of the camps the COP leadership, and from our own personal observations, the evidence strongly suggests that a regular pastoral oversight and support is lacking at most of the camps. The burden of the work is largely in the hands of the founders and their helpers, most of whom appear to lack solid biblical exposure. Adequate facilities are lacking at most of the centres for the mentally handicapped. The continuity of the camps remains a serious problem to the leadership. Who takes over when a gifted agent of God leaves the scene? Though everyone seems to admit that this is a real problem apparently there seems to be no immediate answer so the leadership of COP for the time being have left it in the hands of Providence, believing that some how, God will raise gifted men and women to continue this vital ministry of the church.¹²⁹

Bureaucratic Controls and Scrutiny

The activities and practices of these camps and prayer centres have had to come under occasional scrutiny by the COP as well as ICGC leadership. The concerns of COP seemed to be along the line of doctrine and ethos, whereas that of ICGC seemed to be that of financial accountability. The camps and the centres have a very large following. They are also a major source of converts for the church.¹³⁰ Their emergence have helped to avoid some of the secessions that characterised the early beginnings of the church.¹³¹ They are a sort of "safety valve" for the church. The

¹²⁹We believe that since God cares and hears the cries of the poor, and the needy, including the sick, he would continue to raise men and women who would continue to be his agents in dispensing His healing grace to all those who look to such sources for help.

¹³⁰It was confirmed to me by the Abura Dunkwa District Pastor, Pastor E.C. Asante that in the year 1992 he baptised about 5000 converts from the Edumfa Prayer Camp. This was corroborated by Apostle Ato Addison, General Secretary of COP (1988-1993) during a personal interview on 8.7.93.

¹³¹It appears the secession of Brother Lawson, Prophet John Mensah, and Apostle Charles Owuo would not have arisen if the phenomenon of prayer camps and prayer

COP leadership have had to be very diplomatic and flexible in dealing with the leaders on certain doctrinal issues. During a recent Pastors' Workshop held in April 1992, the camps came under critical scrutiny, and a policy statement was issued on this. Whether or not the leadership of the camps will operate within the prescribed framework is another matter.

Though the social and spiritual significance of the camps is widely accepted by almost all the leaders we spoke to, some of them have rather mixed feelings about them. Some feel the importance of the camps has been exaggerated.¹³² Others feel the phenomenon should not have been allowed to develop outside of the local church. Those who subscribe to this view, however, still agree that the camps generally emerged at a time when as a result of the size and the numerous activities of the church, the pastors and elders, were no longer able to meet the day to day fears and aspirations of the membership at the personal level.¹³³

Some church leaders outside the pentecostal movement have referred to it as the "Korle Bu Annex", lacking any theological formation.¹³⁴ Abizi is quoted as arguing that people should seek to love God first, rather than putting material considerations at the top of the agenda. It is apparent from the Catholic minister's accusation that he does not fully know what happens at the prayer camps. The main question, however is, can one love God in abstraction? How can the unbeliever who has not experienced God before, love Him whom he does not know? Does the Bible

centres has been allowed to develop as part of the church's structure from its early beginning.

¹³²This was the position expressed by one of the legal advisors of the church, Mr John Abraham Larkai, in an interview granted to the present writer on 22.2.93. Apostle S.K. Baidoo also holds this view.

¹³³Those who represent this position include Apostles Opoku Onyina, Baidoo, Arnan, and Evangelist L. A. Nyarko.

¹³⁴Rev Fr. Kizito Abizi, Vicar-General of Sekondi-Takoradi Diocese, is a representative of this position. Fr. Abizi is said to have made this and similar remarks during the 1989 Growth in the Spirit Seminars of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal groups in Accra. The Korle Bu hospital is the major teaching hospital in the country. The essence of the Father's remarks was that the Prayer Camps have become an extension of the Korle Bu Hospital.

prescribe one particular method through which God reveals His love to humanity?

There is already evidence that similar "Korle Bu Annex" have already begun to emerge within the Roman Catholic Church,¹³⁵ though the spirituality at work here may be too much for some of the church's hierarchy to handle, as the **Christian Hope Ministry** seems to suggest,

Until the local church comes out with some guidelines about healing services, "self-made rites" will continue to be popular with the faithfulUntil then, some of our faithful will continue to drift to other Christian denominations ... or attend their healing services and Bible classes, consult spiritualists, mallam and fetish priests.¹³⁶

The Prayer Camps and the Concept of Salvation

What then is the understanding of the concept of salvation in the religious consciousness of the prayer camps and their followers? What are they reaching out to as the ideal of salvation? Do suplicants go there because of the need "to be born again"?

Though when the pentecostals talk of "salvation", they are talking primarily in terms of the atonement, forgiveness of sin, and reconciliation with God, their practices have well illustrated that, they are reaching out to things that go beyond the "born again" experience, to an experience that permeates their here and now life, and

¹³⁵A typical one is the Christian Hope Ministry, Kumasi, founded in 1984 by Francis Akwaboah, a former Catholic Catechist attached to the Second Battalion, Kumasi. He began a comprehensive programme in 1994. Gifford reports that there are two healing sessions every weekday, 9 am to 12 noon, and 1.30 pm to 4 pm, which attract about 300 people. The Thursday deliverance services draw between two and three thousand people. Tuesdays and Fridays are for all night vigil. The first week of each month was given to fasting and prayer. After each daily session, those attending are divided into four groups. Suplicants needs are dealt with by one of these four specialist teams. The teams focus on demonic affliction, marital and infertility issues, general sickness, and general constraints like poverty (Gifford 1994, 253).

¹³⁶These were sentiments expressed by a Ghanaian Catholic priest when responding to an article by a missionary Catholic priest published in the *Catholic Standard*, in which the missionary priest was deploring some healing practices of some priests demanding that such activities must conform to Roman Catholic spirituality. Quoted by Paul Gifford 1994, 253.

also promises them of a better tomorrow in the *hereafter*.¹³⁷ Suppliants primarily go to the camps in search of salvation that relate to the here and now. They go there because of sickness and the need for healing; they go there because of financial and economic problems; they go there because of problems related to marriages, children, employment, family needs; they go there because of lawsuits; they go there because they are struggling with drunkenness and they want to overcome it; they go there because of educational issues; they go there because they are in need of accommodation, a place to lay their heads; they go there because of the problem of bad or frightful dreams; they go there because of alleged problems with demons and witchcraft; they go there because of social expectations, particularly the need to provide for their families. But this is not all: some, in addition to their material needs, seek "spiritual upliftment". This category of suppliants seek prayer so that they can move beyond the experience of nominal Christianity to a devoted and committed Christian life.

These are the day to day needs of real people, men and women, old and young, rich and poor, literate and illiterate. When these people pray or ask for prayers, they are reaching out to God, in search of "salvation". Through these camps and centres many claim to have received salvation to otherwise hopeless situations.¹³⁸ For these people, the concept of salvation cannot be divorced from their existential needs. The "Saviour" in this sense, is not only the one that saves them from the curse and the blight of sin (though this is their starting point), He is also one who supremely helps them in their day to day existential needs.

Since it appears that the overriding concern of majority of suppliants is mainly for things related to the existential here and now, one may be tempted to conclude that African Christians are not conscious of redemption from sin as Mbiti seems to suggest:

Even if the question of sin features a great deal in missionary or historical churches, it is highly doubtful that African Christians

¹³⁷Though Owusu Tabiri spent most of his time praying for the physical needs of supplicants, the issue of "Accepting Christ as Lord and personal Saviour", appears to be his key starting point.

¹³⁸Some testimonies will be provided in support of this.

understand its centrality in the New Testament teaching about the atonement and redemption. A great deal of what is said about being 'saved from sin' is simply a parrot-type indoctrination from the bringers of the Christian message. Converts appreciate more deliverance from the physical evils than anything else that would be in the nature of spiritual or moral depravity. Again this comes out clearly in the catechisms, hymns and prayers produced by the independent churches, where Christians do not feel so much under pressure to conform to missionary expectations. Yet in no way should these statements mean that African Christians are conscious of redemption from sin; rather they are more conscious of physical deliverance than of spiritual, even if the same saves them in both situations.¹³⁹

Mbiti's observation, valid as it may be in some respects, does not fully account for the African experience, or at least the evidence we have with the Church of Pentecost, the International Central Gospel Church, and the Prayer groups we studied. It may be said that because of the African's holistic orientation to reality, and more so because of economic, social, and political upheavals that perennially plague the continent of Africa, material concerns play a very important role in his religious consciousness, and in African perceptions of the role of the "saviour" in this regard. However, to assert that Africans are not conscious of redemption from sin seems rather incongruous. Mbiti himself seems to have later realised this when in 1986 he wrote:

While some African Christians, including many in the independent churches, put great emphasis on the physical saving acts of Jesus, such as those recorded in the gospels, *we must not limit the African understanding to the physical level of life. There are many who also put great emphasis on the Cross of Jesus and its saving grace.* Perhaps the best example of this is the East African Revival Movement.... Nobody can deny that through the channels of the Revival Movement, people are appropriating biblical salvation which make sense to their lives and satisfies their yearnings. The concentration here is more on Jesus and his Cross, and less on his other activities prior to the Cross. The revival also takes up the life of the believer after death, so that it holds firmly that the Christian goes immediately to be with the Lord in heaven....¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹John Mbiti 1973 "Our Saviour as an African Experience" in *Man and his salvation: Studies in memory of S.G.F. Brandon*, 408.

¹⁴⁰Mbiti 1986. *Bible and Theology in African Christianity*. Nairobi: Oxford, 166, 168. My own emphasis.

The interviews we conducted and the questionnaires we administered to several church members and church leaders within the COP, ICGC and others, suggested that the biblical concept of the original sin is very clear. When we asked our respondents the question: What is your understanding of terms like "*Jesus saves*", "*there is salvation in Jesus*", "*you need salvation*", almost all of them suggested as the first point the issue of original sin, the depravity of the human nature, and reconciliation that comes through the atonement of Jesus Christ. The material and physical aspects of "salvation" were most invariably suggested as secondary. In fact, Owusu Tabiri for instance, in spite of his concern with the health and the economic and social well being of his suppliants, necessarily anchors the suppliants in the doctrine of sin and the atonement.

Our investigations however revealed that for some when they heard the Gospel preached to them, though they understood the issue of *original sin* and the need for forgiveness and reconciliation with God, because of their life experiences, what really attracted them to join the Church was the concrete and material help that Jesus provides in the here and now. It was later on that they fully appreciated and embraced teachings on the original sin and the atonement.¹⁴¹

Mbiti's recent observation is relevant for us here:

¹⁴¹ We illustrate with this example: Pastor Michael Asiedu is a young, smart educated pastor, a former employee of the British High Commission, Accra, and Ghana Italian Petroleum Products (GHAIP), Tema. He also worked in Nigeria. He is now a missionary of the Church of Pentecost, Umtata, Transkei, RSA. When I took up the question on his understanding of the concept of salvation with him, after eloquently explaining to me his understanding of the evangelical terms associated with salvation, he pointed out to me that when he first heard the Gospel, what actually attracted him was the security he was looking for. He told me that before then, he had previously had series of bad dreams, and in one of such dreams he saw someone biting him. To his surprise, he woke up from the dream to actually discover some visible marks of the attack! This young man had come from the background where sinister activities of witches and sorcerers were all too familiar. Therefore when he heard the Gospel, the aspect of the salvation message that caught his interest was the aspect of the security Jesus provides to the believer. (Interview with Pastor Michael Asiedu, 16th July, 93). When this matter was later discussed with several people, including two elders of the Church of Pentecost, Mr A. J. Larkai, a legal advisor to the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, and Mr Peter Kyei, a Lecturer at the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana, we realised that Asiedu was not alone in his understanding of the Christian concept of salvation.

... Often in the New Testament, individuals are physically saved first by Jesus and through the acts of the apostles. Only later does the spiritual dimension of their salvation surface and grow. But this need not be the order of sequence since God's grace is not confined to one method, and the experience of Paul on the road to Damascus is a clear illustration of the reversal of this sequence. Indeed many African Christians came to the Christian message of salvation which speaks first about spiritual matters and only later, or not at all, about physical welfare in their lives. What is important here is to consider salvation in holistic terms. ... Only when one is expressed at the expense of the other, a distortion of biblical salvation ensues and one part of man is virtually excluded and starved out.¹⁴²

Conclusion

Perhaps if there is anything we can learn from the emergence of the Prayer Camps and Prayer Centres within the pentecostal churches, then it is the fact that as the pentecostal churches grow large and their activities increase, the basic needs of the ordinary people receive less attention, to say the least. The silent message of the camps to the churches, both pentecostal and mainline, is that unless the present fears, desires, and aspirations of the people are addressed, alternative movements will emerge as protest movements to address these needs.

As the history of the church in Ghana has well illustrated, the need for healing and security continue to occupy the minds of Ghanaian Christians. For them this is part and parcel of what they consider as salvation. Unless these are fully addressed, church members, as we are all too aware, will inevitably seek succour from other latitudes. These sources, however, may not necessarily be within the denominationally acceptable realms.

¹⁴²Mbiti 1986, 158, 159.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION:

REVISIONING THE PENTECOSTAL SPIRITUALITY

The Crucial Questions

This study has been focused on the origins, development and impact of Pentecostalism in Ghana, and the movement's concept of salvation. We summarise the thesis by focusing on some of the fundamental questions it raises. What is the pentecostalists' concept of salvation? How did the movement encounter the primal religion - displaying continuity or discontinuity? What influence has the Bible (both the vernacular and English translations) made on the religious life and thought of the Pentecostals? What constitutes Pentecostal spirituality? What is the movement's concept of mission, and national development? What is the distinctiveness of Ghanaian Pentecostalism? Can it be legitimately regarded as part of world Pentecostalism? To what extent have socio-economic conditions affected its numerical growth, and the movement's conception of the *parousia*?

Pentecostal and Primal Concept of Salvation: Continuity and Discontinuity

Our consideration of the issue of salvation in this project has been based on our conviction that Pentecostalism, like every religion, is about salvation.¹ For the

Search for Salvation is recorded in the very dynamism of the human mind, indeed it appears as the fundamental and universal aspect of it... Whatever else religion may or may not be, it is essentially a reaching forward to the ideal of salvation.²

The centrality and universality of the doctrines of salvation for religious thought and life, and the related problems of coexistence of different schemes of salvation, have been argued by Parrinder and others.³ Okorochoa, following Marina

¹Oma Marina Vesci 1970. *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, no. 7, 102-8.

²The Vatican, *Religions: Fundamental themes for a dialogistic understanding*, 1970, pp.87 and 175; cited by E.G. Parrinder in *Man and his Salvation*. Sharpe and Hinnells eds. Manchester Univ. Press, 1973, 189.

³See Parrinder, "Salvation of other men" in *Man and his Salvation*, Sharpe and Hinnells eds., 189. Okorochoa suggests that what constitutes salvation and how this is sought differs from one religion to another (C.C. Okorochoa 1987. *The meaning of*

Vesci, thus suggests that:

... Whenever we come to the study of any religious system, rather than define salvation *a priori*, we are to get alongside the adherents of that particular religious system and discover first hand, from them, what they are 'reaching forward to' as the 'ideal of salvation.'⁴

Approaching our study from this perspective, our findings support the thesis that in the primal religion the followers are reaching out to a form of salvation that relates to the *existential here and now*. Their concept of salvation embodies the enjoyment of long life, vitality, vigour, and health; a life of happiness and felicity; the enjoyment of prosperity: that is, wealth, riches, and substance, including children; life of peace, tranquillity; and life free from perturbation. The concept of salvation in the primal world is single faceted, relating solely to the here and now. There is no concept of heaven tomorrow.

With regard to the Pentecostals, we observed that they have a dual faceted conception of salvation, incorporating "*this-worldliness*" and "*other-worldliness*". In spite of this dual concept of salvation, the *salvation of soul* plays a central role in their scheme of salvation.⁵ The experience of "soul salvation" not only prepares the "redeemed ones" for the "celestial city" in the hereafter, but also, it is perceived as the key to **abundant life or salvation today**.

Both the classic Pentecostals' and neo-pentecostals' concept of *salvation today* embodies the enjoyment of prosperity which include wealth, health and fertility. Herein lies the continuity between the primal concept of salvation and that of the Pentecostals. Though the neo-pentecostal movement is largely an offshoot of classic pentecostalism, in spite of differing emphases, there is no essential difference between the two groups' conception of salvation, whether in the *here and now* or in the *hereafter*. It must however be noted that though the primal understanding of salvation today is the same as the Pentecostals' conception of salvation, the way salvation is sought in the two realms are different. Whereas in the primal world salvation is

religious conversion in Africa, Aldershot, Avebury, 49).

⁴Ibid.

⁵Though a number of Ghanaian neo-pentecostals seem to place an overriding emphasis on salvation today, because of their strong evangelical pentecostal roots, this is not done at the exclusion of "soul salvation".

sought through traditional forms of supernatural succour, which include the divinities, the mediatorial role of the ancestors, and the use of charms and amulets, the Pentecostals are uncompromisingly hostile to these traditional forms of succour. They look to the Christian God as the only and ultimate supernatural succour. What cannot be found through the traditional forms of supernatural succour is now available to them in Christ. By virtue of the superior power of Christ in salvific encounters, He is perceived as the matchless and incomparable One, and beside Him, there is none other. He is thus considered as superior to the traditional pantheon: the local divinities, the ancestral cult, witches, charms and amulets, and all other forms of magical power. He is not one among many; rather, He is the One above all. He is thus the central focus of the Pentecostal spirituality, not the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit, among other things is perceived as the Enabler. Through Him the saints are able to fully fulfil their witness to Christ both in word and in deed. The Holy Spirit is thus not the central focus of Ghanaian Pentecostal spirituality.

The Pentecostals see a sharp distinction between all forms of traditional spirit possession, and "Holy Spirit possession". The former is categorically condemned as demonic power.⁶ Their concern for biblical truth causes them to reject outright all forms of association which appear to be an antithetical to biblical orthodoxy. It is for this reason that the exorcising of the traditional past becomes central to the evangelistic activities of the deliverance apostles within neo-pentecostalism.

The Pentecostals' critical and condemnatory stand against the spiritual churches and those within the historic churches who patronise the secret societies like the Free Masons, is influenced by the sharp distinction they draw between the Holy Spirit and "familiar spirits".⁷ They see the **Name** and the **Blood** of Christ and the **Word** of God as efficient and sufficient for salvation. Hence they insist "There shall be no burning of candles and incense for prayer; no special fire; no incantations, nor the use of

⁶Be it ancestral spirit possession or possession by the local divinities. This form of possession could also produce the ability to speak a language that is not normally spoken by the possessed.

⁷Otabil's diatribe as outlined in chapter eight of this project may partly be understood from this perspective.

special names of Angels, except the *Name of the Lord Jesus Christ*.⁸

The charge made by Oosthuizen that "the most difficult theological problem in Africa, namely, the confusion that exists with regard to the ancestral spirits and the Holy Spirit" can therefore not be sustained in the Ghanaian situation in as much as the Pentecostals are concerned.⁹ Neither can they be charged that the "traditional beliefs about possession by an ancestral spirit ... have been transferred to the idea of being filled with the Holy Spirit".¹⁰

The story of the incarnation is thus their good news of salvation--salvation from fear of evil spirits, from sickness and disease, from economic and social deprivation, from ignorance of who they are, and, above all, salvation from total and complete alienation from the Father of all flesh: God. In this understanding they see themselves in an exalted position in Christ. They literally believe and appropriate biblical passages like:

I keep on asking that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the glorious Father, may give you the Spirit of wisdom and revelation, so that you may know him better. I pray also that the eyes of your heart may be enlightened in order that you may know the hope to which he has called you, the riches of his glorious inheritance in the saints, and his incomparably great power for us who believe. That power is like the working of his mighty strength, which he exerted in Christ when he raised him from the dead, and seated him at his right hand in the heavenly realms, far above all rule and authority, power and dominion, and every title that can be given, not only in the present age but also in the one to come. And God placed all things under his feet and appointed him to be head over everything for the church, which is his body, and fullness of him who fills everything in every way. ...***And God raised us up with Christ and seated us with him in the heavenly realms in Christ Jesus, in order that in the coming ages he might show the incomparable riches of his grace, expressed in***

⁸CAC Constitution 1989, 58. Emphasis mine.

⁹G.C. Oosthuizen 1968. *Post Christianity in Africa*. London: C Hurst, 120. Quoted by Allan Anderson 1991. *Moya: The Holy Spirit in an African Context*, Pretoria: USA, 85.

¹⁰B.A. Pauw 1960. *Religion in a Tswana chieftdom*. London: OUP, 207. Quoted by Allan Anderson 1991. *Moya: The Holy Spirit in an African Context*, Pretoria: Univ. of South Africa, 85.

*his kindness to us in Christ Jesus.*¹¹

The Pentecostal Spirituality: Influences

The two main sources of influence for the pentecostalists' concept of salvation are the Bible and the primal world view.

The Bible

The cornerstone of Pentecostal self-understanding is the Bible. Pentecostals believe the Bible to be God's Word and therefore inerrant. "The Bible is infallible in its declarations, final in its authority, all sufficient in its provisions and comprehensive in its sufficiency".¹² The Pentecostals believe the "the whole Bible - both Old and New Testaments, is the pure Word that cannot be changed, added to, or taken away from, without terrific consequences".¹³

Though the Pentecostals believe that the Word of God was first given in particular historical contexts they are resolute in insisting its eternal relevance. Old Testament and New Testament promises to the Jews and the early Christians for their material well-being (e.g., Deut. 28: 1-15; 30:9-10); Malachi 3: 8ff; and Luke 6:38; 3 John 2; Mark 16) are thus literally appropriated by Pentecostals. For them the gap between the original receptors of the Divine self-disclosure and contemporary readers is bridged through the agency of the Holy Spirit, the Supreme Biblical Teacher.¹⁴

The Pentecostal presupposition of biblical infallibility and biblical literalism finds its logical conclusion in what may be considered as a dualistic world view: a spiritual universe in which the devil and his fallen angels are constantly at enmity with God and His holy angels. Human beings are grouped into two in this cosmic arena:

¹¹Ephesians 1:17-2:6 NIV. Italics mine.

¹²COP *Ministers' Manual* n.d., 4.

¹³CAC *Constitution* 1989, 6.

¹⁴The belief in the supernatural aid given by the Holy Spirit is seen as sufficient. Human effort alone in interpreting the text is thus discounted by some. It was this understanding that led some members of the group to discount Bible schools and seminaries.

those who belong to God and those who belong to the devil. The pentecostals do not see any "demilitarised zone". You either belong to the "kingdom of light" or the "kingdom of darkness".

Spirit-filled believers, thus, are God's army in the terrestrial realm. The redemption of the rest of mankind is entrusted into their hands. They are to take the message to the unsaved; set the captives free, cast out demons from their human tenements, take dominion over the principalities, authorities and powers, heal the sick and raise the dead. Signs and wonders should necessarily follow the preaching of the gospel, thus confirming the veracity of the Bible. The signs that followed the early disciples are believed to be as valid now as then. Signs and wonders must of necessity follow believers today as they obediently testify to Christ. It is in this encounter that the gifts of the Holy Spirit become more significant.

The Bible has exerted no small influence on the thinking of the Pentecostals. In discussion, argument, or debate, the Bible, especially in the local language, is the supreme source of authority.¹⁵ The familiar dictum is "What does the Scripture say?" or "The Bible says". The songs of the movement reveal the strong, indelible influence of the Bible.¹⁶ "In this way, the Bible in the local language becomes the most directly influential single factor in shaping the life of the church in Africa".¹⁷

For the Pentecostals, the **authority** of the Word of God does not so much rest in its **historicity** as in its **source**, though the former nonetheless is considered important. The Word of God is *Authoritative*, or *Powerful* not because of its historical

¹⁵Though now the English translations are owned and cherished by the educated, translations in the mother tongue still reign supreme. The Akuapem Bible for instance, in most cases, offers a better understanding which is close to the original Greek or Hebrew than some of the English versions. It is therefore not uncommon for a reader of an English version to consult with his or her Twi Bible for more light. Also, apart from the neo-pentecostals and the newly created English assemblies, the services of the Pentecostals are conducted in the vernacular. Educated members of the classic Pentecostals almost always have more than two versions of the Bible, which of necessity include the vernacular translation.

¹⁶The songs are the main source of information on the theology of the movement.

¹⁷J.S. Mbiti, 1986 *Bible and theology in African Christianity*, 28. The importance of the vernacular Bible in the religious consciousness of the African has also been well illustrated by Lamin Sanneh in *Translating the Message*, Orbis: Maryknoll, 1991.

validity, but because it is the very words of the most *powerful Deity*, the God among gods, and Lord among lords. It is because God is "All-Powerful", and He is the "God of Miracles", that the Pentecostals believe His Word has **potential power**, for it carries Divine authority. Their belief is thus in consonance with the affirmation that:

The Bible is not simply an historical book about the people of Israel: through a re-reading of this scripture in the social context of our struggle for our humanity, God speaks to us in the midst of our troublesome situation. This divine Word is not an abstract proposition but an event in our lives, empowering us to continue in the fight for our full humanity.¹⁸

The Primal World View

The **primal cosmology** and the **primal view of life** are the main factors here. The primal cosmology postulates external hostile agencies more powerful than man. Man sees himself constantly exposed to the influences of evil supernaturalism. In the terrestrial realm are found men and women who manipulate the spirit force in the celestial realm for evil purposes. The activities of charmers, enchanters, sorcerers, poisoners, and witches are directed against man in order to prevent him from enjoying abundant life, or to prevent him from fulfilling his *nkrabea* (destiny). The central focus of his religious exercises is thus directed towards the harnessing of power inherent in the spirit force for his own advantage. The concept of power thus reigns supreme in this spirit-filled universe. Every event here on earth is thus traceable to a supernatural *power* in the spirit realm. From the same source therefore recourse is made for the ultimate succour of man.

It is from this background that **salvation** is defined and experienced. In the religious encounter between Pentecostalism and Akan religion this perception of reality became integral in the proclamation of the gospel. For the Pentecostals (including the trained scientist and the illiterate peasant) these forces are real. They are not just the figments of the imaginations of the ignorant. The cosmic struggle is accepted as real because the Bible, they argue, presents the phenomenon as real, not just because the traditional culture admits this to be so.

¹⁸Kofi Appiah-Kubi and Sergio Torres, eds. 1979. *African Theology en Route*, Orbis: New York, 192f.

In the Pentecostal proclamation therefore, Jesus is placed at the centre of the cosmic struggle. The Son of God is presented as the *Osahene* (Field Marshal) who "has disarmed principalities, and powers", and has "made public spectacle of them, triumphing over them by the cross" (Colossians 2:15). The Champion of the cosmos has enabled the redeemed to be "seated with Him in the heavenly places far above the principalities, authorities and powers" (Ephesians 2:6).

The success of the Pentecostals therefore, lies in their ability to place the traditional understanding of the cosmic struggle in the realm of Christian belief. The stand taken by the Pentecostals is thus the antithesis of the stand which was taken by the emissaries of the historic churches who assumed the position that these forces were non-existent, much to the dismay of majority of their followers.

The traditional concept of salvation is also an aspect of the traditional spirituality that appears to have been a *praeparatio evangelica* to the Pentecostal conception of salvation. For the primal religion, salvation is the provenance of the gods. They bestow or withdraw prosperity depending upon the kind of relationship that exists between the gods and humanity. Fertility of the land, abundance of harvest, fruitfulness of the womb, and protection are all experienced through a proper relationship with deity and the ancestors. This relationship is maintained through proper ritual behaviour. Purificatory rites are thus a mechanism created to maintain ritual equilibrium between the gods and the ancestors on the one hand, and humanity on the other.

The Pentecostals have taken the issue of material prosperity to the realm of Divine blessings. Humans participate in these blessings through proper ritual behaviour which includes the payment of tithes/first fruits, offerings. Though hard work, honesty, and creative use of one's gifts and talents are all mentioned as crucial to one's prosperity, the ritual of *tithing* is believed to be the actual key that unlocks "God's storehouse of prosperity" and releases His protection against the onslaught of the forces of evil. God, they believe, can bestow or withhold abundant life depending upon the attitude of the individual to proper ritual behaviour, which, of necessity, includes tithing.

What then is the essence of the Pentecostal spirituality? What are the ways in which the Pentecostals appropriate the salvific mission of Christ? What are the

pietistic habits of the Pentecostals?

Russell P. Spittler, writing from North American perspective lists *experience*, *orality*, *spontaneity*, *other-worldliness*, and a commitment to *biblical authority*, as the *implicit values* underlying the Pentecostal spirituality. He believes that these values "combine to yield a constellation of *characteristic practices* found in Pentecostal and charismatic spirituality, quite apart from central features of speaking in tongues, Holy Spirit baptism, and divine healing". He sees other peculiar practices among North American Pentecostals, as a direct outcrop from these five core values. These are: collective oral prayer, raising of hands, proxy prayer, dancing in the spirit, Jericho March, altar services, falling under the power/resting in the Spirit, sacred expletives (happy exclamations like "Glory to God!" "Hallelujah!"); a word of knowledge at communal meetings, biblical precedents like anointed prayer cloths, snake handling, drinking of poison; holy laughter, prayer for divine healings; leg-lengthening, exorcisms.¹⁹

Spittler's "implicit values" and the "*characteristic practices*" can all be identified within Ghanaian Pentecostalism.²⁰ In this regard we may conclude that Ghanaian Pentecostalism is part of world Pentecostalism.²¹

The reason for the growth of world-wide Pentecostalism has been explained in terms of elements traceable to the African culture. We may want to propose that Ghanaian Pentecostalism is part of the global Pentecostal movement, not just because of the presence of *implicit values* which may be found within Ghanaian

¹⁹Spittler "Spirituality, Pentecostal and Charismatic" in *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, Burgess, S.M and Garry B. McGee, eds., 1988. Zondervan: Grand Rapids.

²⁰The only exception is the "case of snake handling" and "drinking of poison", which may be considered as aberrations by marginal groups among North American Pentecostals.

²¹In addition to the *implicit values* listed by Spittler, we may identify *this-worldliness* (strong emphasis on the here and now) and *black consciousness*, as part of the implicit values within the Ghanaian movement. Much of these appear to have been influenced by socio-cultural factors. The practice of itinerant "seers", "prayer men", Prophets and prophetesses moving from place to place "*delivering messages*" to individuals and congregations, as practised by CAC, may also be indicated as a characteristic practice associated with Ghanaian Pentecostalism.

which Hollenweger has well summarised as:

- * orality of liturgy;
- * narrativity of theology and witness;
- * maximum participation at the levels of reflection, prayer and decision making and therefore a form of community that is reconciliatory;
- * inclusion of dreams and visions into personal and public forms of worship [where] they function as a kind of icon for the individual and the community;
- * an understanding of the body/mind relationship that is informed by experiences of correspondence between body and mind; the most striking application of this insight is the ministry of healing.²²

The foregoing are elements of the primal spirituality. Though they appear to be disappearing in Europe and North America, as Hollenweger has well noted,²³ they are still strong elements within Ghanaian Pentecostalism. Since these are strong aspects of the black culture, they will continue to form dominant features of Ghanaian Pentecostalism.

Spittler has noted that *other-worldliness* is now a "fading value" among American Pentecostals and charismatics because of the upward social mobility of North American Pentecostals and the economic progress of American society. We have noted that the problem of *other-worldliness* is not an issue among the Ghanaian neo-pentecostals because of their concern for "*Dominion theology*".²⁴ In the realm of eschatology, the imminent coming of Christ and the hereafter which are aspects of the preaching of the classic pentecostals, appear to be completely absent from their teaching. This is largely due to their concern for the alleviation or at least ameliorating the debilitating effects of poverty, ignorance, and disease. Otobil, one of the key leaders within Ghanaian neo-pentecostalism, has summarised the position thus:

²²W. J. Hollenweger 1986. After Twenty Years' Research on Pentecostalism *IRM* vol lxxv no. 297, 6.

²³Ibid.

²⁴This refers to a new emphasis on the need for believers to take dominion over the earth's resources. The image of God in man must be translated into constructiveness as man works in partnership with God in the area of development. The believer must reign on earth through his/her exploitation and utilisation of the earth's resources for the benefit of humanity, especially the exploited of the earth.

Preachers from Africa ... can no longer continue preaching an escapist pie-in-the-sky message. We cannot continue singing about flying away and wearing a shoe in heaven whilst our people battle the harsh realities of life.²⁵

The socio-economic factors surrounding the birth of the neo-pentecostalism, the Ghanaian experience of colonisation, and the slave trade have continued to determine the emphasis of the movement.

Though the classic pentecostals believe material blessings are part of the salvation package, and expect to enjoy all the good things that this world can offer, they still continue to affirm that "**We have another world in view**".²⁶ Though the classic pentecostals now attract both peasants and professors into their fold, and some of the denominations, especially the Church of Pentecost, have built a strong economic base, this has not in any way undermined their numerical growth, as **GEC National Church Survey** (1988 and 1993) clearly shows.²⁷ The classic pentecostals have been able to sustain their numerical growth partly because of their strong sense of mission, their assertiveness in evangelism, their fervent prayers in support of their *primary mission*, evangelism, and their continuous appeal to the *primal aspirations* in their evangelistic strategy. The suggestion here is that it is possible for a movement to move from the fringes of society into the centre, and still maintain its original vision. Thus it may be argued that it is possible for one to be rich in material terms and still be rich towards God.

²⁵Otabil 1992. *Beyond the rivers of Ethiopia*, 12. For example the main sermons and teachings that took place within the ICGC from 1986 to 1993, had no single item on eschatology.

²⁶The English version of this Twi song given below for convenience:

*I have another world in view, in view,)
 I have another world in view.) 2x
 My Saviour is gone to prepare me a place,
 I have another world in view;
 My Saviour is gone to prepare me a place,
 I have another world in view.*

This type of song, which is one of the favourite songs of the classic pentecostals is not sung by the neo-pentecostals, at least within ICGC.

²⁷See Ghana Evangelism Committee *National Church Survey* 1988 and 1993.

Ghanaian Pentecostal Missiology

How has the Pentecostal spirituality influenced its missiological ethos? What is the Ghanaian Pentecostal missiology? The movement's concept of mission incorporates the "Three P's": a combination of the ecumenical "*Presence*" or "*Being*" paradigm, the evangelical "*Proclamation*" paradigm; and "*Power*" paradigm. The "*Power*" paradigm has its roots in what is perceived as the New Testament pattern of evangelism and the primal understanding of the spirit-force.²⁸

Power is always seen as a necessary ingredient in the proclamation of the gospel because the Pentecostals believe this is the New Testament pattern of evangelism. This concept comes from the belief that there are always powerful evil forces which stand in the way of the salvation of individuals, groups, families, and nations. Signs and wonders are believed to break the hold of the devil and his host of demons over their victims. The traditional belief in the natural world and the activity of the supernatural, causes people to gravitate to where "things are happening", no matter the source.

For Pentecostals "life style" and proclamation are inseparable.²⁹ For example, within the COP, those found not to be living according to the "holiness code" of the church are forbidden from testifying publicly on the church's platform, either within or outside of the church. In spite of the subtle differences between the classic pentecostals and the neo-pentecostals on the issue of life style, they all agree that a lasting, effective, and successful ministry requires *Presence, Proclamation, and Power*.

Pentecostal Spirituality and National Development

Anquandah observes that "though its [i.e. the Pentecostal movement] teachings

²⁸The present writer does not think there is any essential difference between neo-pentecostal missiology and that of classic pentecostals. He therefore does not think one can talk of neo-pentecostal missiology that is separate and distinct from classic pentecostal missiology, as Elizabeth Tyson has attempted (See Elizabeth Dodd Tyson, *Neopentecostal Missiology*, Ph.d thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1993).

²⁹This is applicable particularly to the classic pentecostals where a more rigorist ethos is prevalent.

and preachings demonstrate concern with political matters, it believes more in secret intercessory prayer than in matters political".³⁰ Anquandah's observation may be true today only in some respect. One observes that open confrontation with the government on national issues has never been part of the Pentecostal tradition. The Pentecostals believe that the church's ability in maintaining its neutrality will enhance the effectiveness of its evangelistic witness to all segments of the whole society.³¹

The Pentecostals, however, have now moved from the era of political passivity to the era of direct political involvement. More than ever before, they are awakened to their political responsibilities.³² One of the presidential candidates during the election campaigns leading to the fourth republic was a wealthy Pentecostal business man, Kwabena Darko, the leading poultry farmer in the country. Though he did not win, the silent message that the Pentecostals are now awake politically appears to have been clearly made.³³

Pentecostals now play important roles in the politics of the nation. For example Prophet Martinson Yeboah, the present chairman of the Church of Pentecost, serves as a member of the **Council of State**.³⁴ The national thanksgiving service of the first anniversary celebration of the fourth republic was organised by the Ghana Pentecostal Council. The GPC successfully moved the service from the level of denominational parochialism to an ecumenical state when key leaders of the historic churches were recruited to participate in the service in which "The churchmen leading the service

³⁰Anquandah, 255.

³¹Generally speaking when the Pentecostals invite a key political or traditional leader to their events the primary aim evangelistic -: that this people will hear the Gospel and be saved. At times it is also intended to expose these leaders to the activities of the Pentecostals. This is particularly so with classic Pentecostals.

³²Nearly all our respondents during our field work within the Church of Pentecost and the International Central Gospel Church now believe that Christians should be involved in politics.

³³His campaign appears to have been based mainly on national accountability and righteousness as prerequisite for the reversal of national economic and social woes.

³⁴The members of the council were appointed by the president.

were the Catholic Archbishop, the Anglican Bishop, and Duncan Williams".³⁵ Though "Some saw the whole ceremony as Rawlings manipulating the churches into legitimating him", it must be pointed out that the National Day of Thanksgiving was organised on the initiative of the Ghana Pentecostal Council and other concerned Christians.

The various roles played by the participants of the service were assigned by the GPC.

Since the Pentecostal do not adopt the confrontational approach on political issues, one may think that they are politically naive, readily available to be exploited by the political leaders for their own ends. Gifford for instance believes:

It could be well be argued that the Pentecostals are just being used by Rawlings, and [that they] *lack the sophistication of the mainline churches to realise this*. The mainline churches in Ghana refuse to be so used; the Pentecostals are just so pleased to get recognition, and so pleased to be encouraged to get on with their evangelising, that they play right into Rawlings' hands.³⁶

It is not clear how Gifford came up with this conclusion. Could his association with the Roman Catholic Church have influenced his perspective on this issue? In any case, the present writer thinks Gifford is yet to fully appreciate the dynamics of church-government relations in Ghana.

ICGC's "Political Awareness Week" of 1992 and 1993 are all part of the political consciousness of the Pentecostals. Though the Pentecostals try to maintain a policy of not officially aligning with any particular political party, they do not draw any dichotomy between church and politics. They believe the Ghanaian dream of prosperity for all needs the selfless contribution of all her citizens as the theme for the 1993 Awareness Week sponsored by ICGC seem to portray: ***The Ghanaian Dream: Our Hopes and Aspirations.***

The Pentecostals' attitude to Ghana as a nation has been that of a deep love,

³⁵Paul Gifford 1994. Ghana's Charismatic Churches, 242.

³⁶Gifford 1995. External Examiner's Report, Re *The Development of Ghanaian Pentecostalism* by E.K. Larbi, Ph.D. thesis, the University of Edinburgh, Nov., 1995. Emphasis mine.

pride in her culture,³⁷ and devotion to her spiritual and material well-being. One of the earlier songs of the movement reflects this motif:³⁸

1. *Ōman Ghana ba, tow ehurusi ndwom;
Nyame agye wo nkwa, adom wo, ehyira wo.
Tre wo ntamadan m'; bankum na nyimfa,
Adom Ewuradze ehu wo so mbōber.*

Chorus:

*W'ebisadze nyinaa, wo Nyame beye ama wo,
Wo yefo nye wo kun,
Ne dzin nye Ewuradze,
Ōmandzehunyi a dabi ehum tuu wo:
Adom Ewuradze ehu wo so mbōber.*

2. *Ōman Ghana ba, da wo nyame ase,
Nyame mba rokō a wo so ka ho worokō,
Soer huntuma mu, bisa adze kese:
Adom Ewuradze ehu wo so mbōbōr.*
3. *Ōman Ghana ba, fa nsambō dzi de;
Ōtanfo biara nnkotum ase wo bio,
Wo ndaamba ye siar, w'awiei beyefew
Adom Ewuradze ehu wo so mbōbōr.*

Translation:

Child of Ghana, sing a song of jubilation;
(for) God has saved you, shown you grace, (and) blessed you.
Spread your tent, left and right,
God of grace has had mercy upon you.

Chorus

³⁷Here the traditional religion is excluded. The Pentecostals show an uncompromising and critical stand to the traditional religion. The only hope for the followers of this religion, like the followers of all other religions apart from Christianity, is primary conversion to biblical Christianity. The Pentecostals do not talk about "dialogue" with the practitioners of the Traditional religion and other religions. They talk of conversion.

³⁸COP 1963. *Christian Choruses*, 92f., s.n. 194 (Mfantse). This Fanti song, which expresses the patriotism of the movement, was often sung when Pastor Paintsil, the first General Secretary of COP, was alive. The origin of this song is not known to the present writer.

God will grant all your requests,
 Your maker is your husband,
 His name is Lord,
 A sufferer who has gone through the storms:
 The God of grace has heard your cry.

Child of Ghana, thank your God,
 When the children of God are going, you are also among,
 Rise up from the dust
 The God of grace has heard your cry.

Child of Ghana, rejoice with clapping;
 No enemy will be able to destroy you again
 Your future is [short?³⁹], your end will be glorious,
 The God of grace has heard your cry.

The Pentecostals' attitude to the governing authorities is that of submission, based on the text:

There is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. Consequently he who rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgement on themselves
⁴⁰

The COP, for instance, now requires that prayers be said for the political leaders at all major services. It also requires that during Independence Day celebrations, special prayers be said for the leaders. They quote the biblical maxim that "Righteousness exalts a nation but sin is a reproach to any people".⁴¹ In the Independence Day prayers they beseech the

"Omnipotent God Lord to give them counsel, guidance, protection from attacks from within and without. Grant them wisdom and may it please you to chair all their deliberations".⁴²

³⁹The original Fanti word is unclear.

⁴⁰COP *Ministers' Manual*, n.d., 82 cf. Rom. 13:1-14. This is the general position shared by the majority of the Pentecostals. The literal interpretation of Romans 13 compels them to adopt the position of a passive resistance rather than open confrontation.

⁴¹Ibid., 84.

⁴²Ibid.

They also pray thus:

Peace and Tranquillity may reign on our borders. We pray against all evil forces such as superstition, injustices in our courts, dishonesty in high and low places, greed, selfishness, impurity and shameful acts which stain our personal and common image as a nation".⁴³

Prosper our nation, and cause your face to shine on the economic resources of our land. Breathe life and hope into every sector of our economy.⁴⁴

As to the rationale behind such prayers, we propose: firstly the love for the nation, and secondly that only in the context of peace and prosperity that the church can also prosper materially and spiritually.

Not only do the Pentecostals feel they have a spiritual responsibility towards the nation, they also think they have social responsibility, a perspective that has developed in the process of time. ICGC's scholarship system is meant to provide commercial, technical and secondary education for able students who are financially handicapped. The COP's nursery, primary and secondary schools are for the benefit of the nation as a whole. Admission is open to all. The same can be said of COP mobile clinics which are meant to provide medical care to certain rural areas of the country. Its oil plantation and poultry farms serve the same purpose. Not all the Pentecostal churches have been able to embark on such noble projects yet, mainly because of finances. Some denominations like the CAC have a strong inclination towards this. CAC hopes that as soon as finances become available this will be done.⁴⁵

Pentecostalism and Ecumenism

The earlier inward-looking attitude of the Pentecostals has now given way to a desire for a closer fellowship with other Christian groups. Some of the neo-pentecostals are yet to overcome such barriers. At the moment there is no cordial fellowship between neo-pentecostals and classic Pentecostals. An exception may be

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵CAC 1989, *Constitution*, 1f.

made of some of the neo-pentecostals who belong to the Ghana Pentecostal Council.

The Pentecostals in general operate a kind of pneumatological ecumenism, distinct from the WCC penchant for ecclesial unity and less so from the evangelical penchant for doctrinal unity. Those who have experienced the baptism of the Holy Spirit or are favourably disposed to the phenomenon, no matter their denominational background, can easily fellowship together with no hindrance.⁴⁶ Now the classic Pentecostals, especially the Church of Pentecost, no longer consider it a problem to associate with the established churches such as the Presbyterians and the Methodists. For the first time, the Chairman of COP has been invited to attend the synod meeting of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. Other invitations have been extended to COP by the historic churches. The Church of Pentecost invited the Secretary for Culture and Religious Affairs to its 1993 induction service held at Labadi, Accra.

At present there is no indication of the possibility of ecumenical contacts between the Aladura type churches and the pentecostals because of sharp doctrinal differences. For the classic and neo Pentecostals "tongues" is not the sole criterion for ecumenism. What they consider as "doctrinal purity" also counts. Though the majority of the Pentecostals believe there may be some genuine Christians within the spiritual churches, on the whole they believe most of them are using other spirits other than the Holy Spirit. This therefore makes any ecumenical contact between these two groups at present impossible.

The Pentecostals do not see any common ground between themselves and non-Christian religious groups such as Muslims or the priests of the primal religion. The only expectation of the Pentecostals of such groups is that of outright conversion to Christianity.

Sociological Considerations

What then were the social factors which caused the emergence of both classic and neo Pentecostalism? Two main explanations for the emergence of independent

⁴⁶The spiritual churches may be an exception. With the Pentecostals ecumenism is possible only when the other parties are considered Christian groups.

religious movements have been suggested. They postulate that these movements emerge as an answer to social *deprivation* (absolute or relative), the felt lack of desired economic or social goods; and from *anomie*, that is, "the absence of stable social relations and authority which is the result of enforced and abrupt social change".⁴⁷

Though these factors may contribute to the emergence of new religious movements, they are often, as Peel has observed, "offered too easily as an automatic and knock-down explanation of very complex phenomena."⁴⁸ Baeta has argued, on the basis of the information from some spiritual churches he studied in Ghana, that their emergence has no connection with either political or economic oppression.⁴⁹

In the same vein we propose that the emergence of Ghanaian Pentecostalism was more a case of religious pragmatism, a search for answers from the realm of the supernatural in life issues where both traditional resources and the western form of Christianity had proven inadequate. It is possible to see the emergence Pentecostalism as occasioned by a search for *abundant life*, in which health, material blessings, and protection from evil powers are significant.

In the context of the vicissitudes that confronted Anim (sickness and death), he found his existing Christian experience inadequate, and was therefore determined to look for a deeper religious experience, an encounter which, according to him, secured his deliverance from a perennial stomach ache and other ailments. Anim's group, as we have shown, attracted publicity because of reported miraculous events, particularly healing.⁵⁰

That the socio-economic difficulties of the late early 1980s have largely influenced the message of the neo-pentecostals few people will deny. In the context of the present IMF structural adjustment programme and its attendant stress on the

⁴⁷Peel, 6.

⁴⁸Ibid., 7.

⁴⁹See Baeta 1962. *Prophetism in Ghana*. London: SCM.

⁵⁰The evangelistic success of the other classic Pentecostal churches may be explained in the same light. That of the neo-pentecostals may also be explained basically in terms of their emphasis on abundant life.

majority of the people, many perceive the teachings of neo-pentecostalism to be efficacious in attaining this-worldly goals. However, to attribute the emergence of the phenomenon as a whole to *social deprivation* and a suffering from *anomie* fails to recognise the fact that

We need motives, not just conditions, to explain purposive behaviour such as religion, and while deprivation can, in theory, provide this, *anomie* may incline men to some sort of innovation, but that alone does not determine, and cannot explain, the particular content of new religious behaviour".⁵¹

It will be impossible, or at least difficult, to sustain the argument that *this-worldliness* of traditional religion, which is the general feature of the primal spirituality, is due to relative or absolute *deprivation*. We have indicated in chapter one of this project that the new shrines emerged during the period of the cocoa boom, not during the period of social deprivation. In the same vein it will be difficult to explain Ghanaian Pentecostalism purely along the lines of social deprivation.

It should also be noted that while initially many joined the Pentecostals mainly for the sake of "this-worldly" factors, other aspects of the church's life too exercise attraction. It is one thing to get someone into a church. It is another thing to get this individual to stay in that particular church. What may influence someone to remain in a particular church may be entirely different from what initially attracted this individual into that church.⁵²

The Pentecostals do not advocate a "withdrawal from this wicked world" in preparation for the celestial city where believers will enjoy what society denied them on this earth; rather, they advocate a constructive engagement, a radical pursuit of abundant life in the here and now, through discipline, hard work and proper ritual

⁵¹Peel, 8.

⁵²The majority of the people we interviewed within the COP and ICGC claimed the main thing that keeps them in these churches is their teachings (this may be entirely different from what actually led them into these churches). The teaching within COP is basically on *spiritual formation* (particularly, practical holiness and prayer), and *evangelism*. That of ICGC is basically on three areas: *human/social development*, *material advancement*, and to some extent *spiritual formation*.

behaviour.⁵³ Ritual behaviour among the pentecostals facilitates the enjoyment of viable life, reinforces group identity, fortifies the personhood of the individual, reactivates spiritual renewal, and also acts as an incorporation into the group in the case of new members.

Though in the early days the initial source of recruitment of the Pentecostals was mainly from the "socially disinherited", they later attracted the highly placed within society. These include distinguished legal practitioners, government ministers, university professors, and presidential candidates. Some of these were drawn into the group primarily through healing, and prayer support received from the church in particular situations.

Epilogue

In the context of the harsh socio-economic realities of Ghanaians,⁵⁴ the majority of them are desperately reaching out in search of salvation

It is along the path of their search for salvation that people encounter the Transcendent. The converse is also true. People search for God because they are in need of salvation. They meet Him as they search for salvation and in meeting him they know that they have encountered the 'Joy of man's desiring'- the sum of his religious strivings and ideals - that is salvation. This is the common denominator in all religions. For all 'men look to their different religions for an answer to the unresolved riddles of human existence'. This common search is for *salvation*.⁵⁵

As this search continues, the Pentecostalist Prayer Camps will continue to act as a potent movement within Ghanaian Christianity. They will continue to assert that although the eternal well-being of humankind is important, unless present fears,

⁵³The message of the Pentecostals is basically two fold: *This-worldly salvation* and *other-worldly salvation*. The Pentecostal evangelistic message promise a better life for the sick, the destitute, drunkards, the downtrodden, the lonely, and other social groups. The enjoyment of this worldly salvation, however, is said to be contingent upon "soul salvation".

⁵⁴Chapter one has discussed the socio-economic problems that the country has gone through.

⁵⁵Okorochoa, 50.

desires, and aspirations are addressed, the Gospel will fail to encounter the soul of Ghanaians, at the core of their religious consciousness. The search of the Pentecostals for salvation or *abundant life* manifests a continuity with the Akan traditional religious sensibility which is this-worldly: a search for **Salvation** in which health, prosperity, fertility, security, vitality, and equilibrium within the cosmos are dominant. It also manifests a radical discontinuity in its hostile stand against all traditional forms of supernatural succour. Aspects of the discontinuity between the two religious expressions is Pentecostalism's concern for the *paradise beyond*.

The hope of the Pentecostals is rooted in their belief that their help is of the **God of Salvation who Rules in the Affairs of Men and that HE IS THE PRESENT HELP IN TIME OF NEED**. They believe the hour of salvation of the nation and her peoples has come. They have thus appropriated the biblical message of salvation to suit their contemporary socio-economic and religious experience.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS SURVEY AMONGST THE MEMBERS OF CHURCH OF PENTECOST AND ICGC

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect data for a study in the Appropriation of the Christian Evangel in 20th Century Ghana setting with particular reference to the Church of Pentecost and the International Central Gospel Church. Your time spent on this is highly appreciated.

CASE ID _ _ _ _ _

(COP 1 = Church of Pentecost, urban setting; COP 2 = Church of Pentecost, rural setting; ICGC 1 = International Central Gospel Church, Accra; ICGC 2 = International Central Gospel Church, rural).

A. PERSONAL DETAILS

1. General Information:

a. Age:

b. Gender:

2. Education

3. Occupation

4. Marital status

5. Number of Children

6. How long have you resided in this place?

7. How would you classify your former place of residence, if any?

B. RELIGIOUS PERSUASION

8. What was your former church or religion?

9. Why did you change your church or religion?

10. How did you get to know of this church?

11. How often do you attend this church?

12. What leadership position do you hold in this church?

13. What is the main thing that makes you like this church?

14. What is the religion of your Father?

15. What is the religion of your Mother?

16. What is the religion of your spouse?

17. If you have children, do they belong to your denomination?

18. Would you agree that the attacks from witches, sorcerers, and other evil powers is a widespread phenomenon in Ghana, and because of this, people normally seek for power or protection/fortification against such evil powers?
19. Is the Ghanaian Christian's attitude to the problem stated above different from non-Ghanaian Christians?
20. What is your own view on the above issue?
21. It has been suggested that "The search for salvation is the goal of man's religiousness". In Christianity the concept of salvation through Christ is one of the pillars. Briefly state your understanding of terms like "there is salvation in Christ"; "You need to salvation"; "I am saved"; "You need to be saved."
22. Please indicate in order of priority where you look for help when you or any of your loved ones have some serious sickness, or when you are faced a major problem.

C. CHURCH RELATIONS

23. How would you or your church classify the 'Aladura' type churches, ('Spiritual churches')?
24. How do you see the renewal movements in the older historic churches, like the "Bible Study and Prayer Group" in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.
25. What do you think may have been some of the reasons why the 1980's have seen the emergence of several independent Pentecostal/Charismatic churches in Ghana?

D. SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT

26. How can your church help to improve the economic situation of the believers?
27. Would agree that our fellowship with one another is not complete so far as some of the believers we fellowship with are hungry while we are well fed?
28. Can we conclude from I Cor. 11: 17-32 that we fail to recognize the significance of the Lord's Supper in as much as believers in our midst are hungry while others have surpluses?
29. What do you think should be the Christian's attitude to politics?

D. GENERAL COMMENTS

30. What would you consider to be the greatest challenge the Pentecostal/ Charismatic movement in Ghana is facing today?

APPENDIX B**SOCIO-RELIGIOUS SURVEY AMONGST THE MEMBERS OF ICGC**

CASE ID: *International Central Gospel Church, ACCRA*

SUMMARY OF RESPONSES

Population: 200

Gender:

i. Male = 120

ii. Female=80

A. GENERAL INFORMATION**1. Age:**

1. 18 - 25 =64
2. 25 - 35 =80
3. 35 - 40 =16
4. 40 - 50 =26
5. Over 50 =14

2. Education

1. Less than Primary School
2. Primary School =14
3. Secondary School =115
4. University/College/Technical/Comercial = 71

3. Job

1. Up to Clerical officer = 28
2. Lower level management) = 57
3. Executive (middle - top level management)= 29
4. Peasant farmer/Petty trader = 21
5. Unemployed = 5
6. Student = 45
7. Any other = 15

4. Marital status

1. Married = 63
2. Single = 127
3. Widow/er= 3
4. Divorce = 7

5. Number of Children

1. 1 - 2 = 34
2. 3 - 4 = 18
3. More than 4 = 24
4. Nil = 124

6. How long have you resided in this place?

1. Less than 1 year = 2
2. 1 - 5 years = 19
3. 5 - 10 years = 39

4. More than 10 years = 140

7. How would you classify your former place of residence, if any?

1. Village = 3
2. Town = 70
3. City = 30
4. Not applicable = 97

B. RELIGIOUS PERSUASION

8. What was your former church or religion?

1. African Traditional Religion = Nil
2. Presbyterian = 45
3. Methodist = 51
4. Roman Catholic = 21
5. Anglican = 20
6. Islam = 2
7. 'Spiritual Church' = 6
8. Charismatic = 31
9. Jehovah's Witness = 2
10. Evangelical Presbyterian Church = 14
11. Classic Pentecostal = 1
12. Any other = 7

9. Why did you change your church or religion?

1. Because of family pressure = 2
2. Because of need for Christ-centred worship = 96
3. Because of need for healing = Nil
4. Because of need for fortification = 10
5. Because of need for material prosperity = Nil
6. Because of need for biblical teaching = 61
7. Marriage = Nil
8. Other reasons = 31

10. How did you get to know of this church?

1. I was invited by someone = 161
2. I was saved during one of their 'open air meetings' = 9
3. Through attending a camp-meeting/convention = 10
4. Any other = 20

11. How often do you attend this church?

1. More than once a week = 183
2. Once a week = 17
3. About once a month = Nil
4. Any other = Nil

12. Do you hold any official leadership position in your church?

1. Yes, I hold a leadership position in the church = 101
2. Yes, I hold more than one leadership position in the church = 8

- 3. I do not hold any position at present = 91
- 4. Any other = Nil

13. What is the main thing that makes you like this church? Because of its emphases on:

- 1. Healing
- 2. Prayer = 2
- 3. Evangelism = Nil
- 4. Holiness = Nil
- 5. Social service = Nil
- 6. Prosperity = 2
- 7. Personal salvation (salvation of the soul) = 7
- 8. Teaching = 169
- 9. Any other = 20

14. What is the religion of your Father?

- 1. African Traditional Religion = 3
- 2. Presbyterian = 38
- 3. Methodist = 47
- 4. Roman Catholic = 10
- 5. Anglican = 29
- 6. Islam = 7
- 7. 'Spiritual Church' = 2
- 8. Pentecostal/Charismatic = 21
- 9. ICGC = 2
- 10. Jehovah's Witness = 3
- 11. Any other = 38

15. What is the religion of your Mother?

- 1. African Traditional Religion = 4
- 2. Presbyterian = 65
- 3. Methodist = 59
- 4. Roman Catholic = 6
- 5. Anglican = 21
- 6. Islam = 2
- 7. 'Spiritual Church' = 1
- 8. Pentecostal/Charismatic = 32
- 9. ICGC = 6
- 10. Jehovah's Witness = 4

16. What is the religion of your spouse?

- 1. African Traditional Religion = Nil
- 2. Presbyterian = 2
- 3. Methodist = 6
- 4. Roman Catholic = Nil
- 5. Anglican = 2
- 6. Islam = Nil
- 7. 'Spiritual Church' = Nil
- 8. Christian = 10
- 9. ICGC = 45
- 10. Not applicable = 135

17. If you have children, do they belong to your denomination?

1. Some do = 9
2. All do = 44
3. None does = 18
4. Not applicable = 129

18. "The possibility of attacks from witches, sorcerers, and other evil powers is a widespread phenomenon in Ghana, because of this, people will normally seek for 'power' or 'fortification' against such evil powers". How would you comment on this assertion?

I Believe this need is shared by:

1. Almost all Ghanaians = 24
2. Every Ghanaian = 160
3. Most Ghanaians
4. Few Ghanaians = 14
5. No Ghanaian = 2
6. Any other

19. Is the Ghanaian Christian's attitude to the problem stated above different from non-Ghanaian Christians?

1. Just the same = 64
2. Almost the same = 17
3. Quite different = 117 (*in the sense of the Christian's source of sucour being different from the non Christian*)
4. Any other = 2

20. What is your own view on the above issue?

1. I believe these forces are there and that both Christians and non-Christians can be attacked by them = 20
2. I believe born-again Christians who are covered by the blood of Jesus are completely immuned from their attacks = 160
3. I believe these so called powers do not really exit.
4. Any other = 20

21. The doctrine of salvation through Christ is one of the pillars of the Christian faith.

1. I understand 'being saved from sin' as being delivered from spiritual and physical evils (witches, sorcerers, famine, drought, and other dangers that threaten my well-being and that of my loved ones. = 7
2. I understand 'being saved from sin' primarily to mean deliverance and forgiveness from sin through the atoning blood of Jesus, which results in personal or corporate salvation. = 84
3. I Understand 'being saved' as a total package which includes all the above. = 105

4. Any other view = 4

22. Please indicate in order of priority where you look for help when you or any of your loved ones have some serious sickness, or when you are faced with some other difficult situation.

1. Consult my pastor/local leader = 17
2. Consult a qualified medical officer = 5
3. Consult another pastor or church leader irrespective of his/her denominational affiliation provided s/he is in the 'deliverance ministry'
4. Consult a prophet-healer in any of the Aladura type churches)
5. Visit one of the prayer camps in the country
6. Consult a traditional herbalist or medicine wo/man
7. God/Jesus = 167
8. Any other = 11

C. CHURCH RELATIONS

23. How would you or your church classify the 'Aladura' type churches, ('Spiritual churches'):

1. As true Christian churches = 9
2. just like any other Pentecostal or Charismatic church
3. As non-Christian Cults who use demonic spirits = 167
4. Any other = 24

24. How do you see the renewal movements in the older historic churches, like the "Bible Study and Prayer Group" in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

1. These movements are a silent revolt against, cold formal religion of the established churches.=6

2. These movements are true expression of African spirituality which is rooted in the African/biblical cosmology = 2

3. I believe unless these so called renewal movements join one of the Pentecostal or Charismatic denominations, they will soon die out = 16

4. The Bible says "Come out of them...." so I believe it is not the will of God for these movements to stay in the historic churches. = 15

5. Effective and Necessary = 89

6. It is a genuine move of God = 32.

7. Any other = 40

25. What do you think may have been some of the reasons why the 1980's have seen the emergence of several independent Pentecostal/Charismatic churches in Ghana? Below are some suggested reasons given by some people within the Ghanaian society. Which one(s) is/are nearest to the view you hold?

1. It is a genuine visitation of God and man can take no credit for it. = 123

2. Because the older churches (both 'Orthodox' and Pentecostal) failed to live up to God's expectation. = 34

3. Because the older Pentecostal churches 'failed to make an impact' so God has by passed them.

4. There are both religious and socioeconomic factors involved and this cannot be fully explained. = 7

5. Because of selfish and pride = 3

6. Any other = 12

SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT

26. How can your church help to improve the economic situation of the believers?

1. By praying for the members = 4

2. By setting up a fund for the poor and the unemployed = 21

3. By encouraging the rich to assist the poor

4. By job creation through setting up of various enterprises = 47

5. To educate members about business and prosperity = 125

6. Any other = 3

27. Would agree that our fellowship with one another is not complete so far as some of the believers we fellowship with are hungry while we are well fed?

1. Yes = 184

2. No = 10

3. Any other = 6

28. Can we conclude from I Cor. 11: 17-32 that we fail to recognize the significance of the *Lord's Supper* in as

much as believers in our midst are hungry while others have surpluses?

1. Yes = 159
2. No = 22
3. Any other = 19

29. What do you think should be the Christian's attitude to politics?

1. Christians should participate fully = 182
2. Christians should not participate = 3
3. Christians should not be very active = 2
4. Others = 13

E. GENERAL COMMENTS

30. What would you consider to be the greatest challenge the Pentecostal/ Charismatic movement in Ghana is facing today? Can you suggest some of the areas the older Pentecostal churches and the newly emerged Pentecostal churches (commonly referred to as 'Charismatics') can work together to build a strong Pentecostal movement in the country?

1. The need for Unity = 36
2. The need for manpower training/development for the clergy
3. The need for social involvement = 23
4. The need for biblical teaching within the churches = 20
5. Evangelism = 66
6. Any other = 55

APPENDIX C

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS SURVEY AMONGST THE MEMBERS OF COP

CASE ID: *Accra International Worship Centre (COP)*

SUMMARY OF RESPONSES

Size of Congregation: 300

Population: 38

Gender:

i. Male = 24

ii. Female = 14

A. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Age:

- 1. 18 - 25 = 5
- 2. 25 - 35 = 12
- 3. 35 - 40 = 12
- 4. 40 - 50 = 6
- 5. Over 50 = 3

2. Education

- 1. Less than Primary School = Nil
- 2. Primary School = 1
- 3. Secondary School = 3
- 4. University/College/Technical/Comercial = 34

3. Job

- 1. Up to Clerical officer = 4
- 2. Lower level management) = 15
- 3. Executive (middle - top level management) = 10
- 4. Peasant farmer/Petty trader = 1
- 5. Unemployed = 1
- 6. Student = 7
- 7. Any other =

4. Marital status

- 1. Married = 13
- 2. Single = 25
- 3. Widow/er =
- 4. Divorce =

5. Number of Children

- 1. 1 - 2 = 11
- 2. 3 - 4 = 9
- 3. More than 4 = 6
- 4. Nil = 12

6. How long have you resided in this place?

- 1. Less than 1 year =
- 2. 1 - 5 years =
- 3. 5 - 10 years =

4. More than 10 years =
(Responses unclear)

7. How would you classify your former place of residence, if any?

1. Village = 2
2. Town = 21
3. City = 12
4. Not applicable = 3

B. RELIGIOUS PERSUASION

8. What was your former church or religion?

1. African Traditional Religion = Nil
2. Presbyterian = 9
3. Methodist = 8
4. Roman Catholic = 9
5. Anglican = 1
6. Islam = Nil
7. 'Spiritual Church' = 1
8. Charismatic = 1
9. Jehovah's Witness = Nil
10. Evangelical Presbyterian Church = 2
11. Classic Pentecostal =
12. Any other = 7

9. Why did you change your church or religion?

1. Because of family pressure = 2
2. Because of need for Christ-centred worship = 17
3. Because of need for healing = 1
4. Because of need for fortification = 4
5. Because of need for material prosperity = Nil
6. Because of need for biblical teaching = 6
7. Marriage = 1
8. Other reasons = 2
9. Not applicable = 5

10. How did you get to know of this church?

1. I was invited by someone = 15
2. I was saved during one of their 'open air meetings' = 6
3. Through attending a camp-meeting/convention = 2
4. Any other = 10
5. By Birth = 5

11. How often do you attend this church?

1. More than once a week = 30
2. Once a week = 7
3. About once a month = 1
4. Any other = Nil

12. Do you hold any official leadership position in your church?

1. Yes, I hold a leadership position in the

church = 21

2. Yes, I hold more than one leadership position in the church = 3
3. I do not hold any position at present = 14
4. Any other = Nil

13. What is the main thing that makes you like this church? Because of its emphases on:

1. Healing
2. Prayer = 9
3. Evangelism = Nil
4. Holiness = 2
5. Social service = Nil
6. Prosperity = 1
7. Personal salvation (salvation of the soul) = Nil
8. Teaching = 24
9. Any other = 2

14. What is the religion of your Father?

1. African Traditional Religion = Nil
2. Presbyterian = 4
3. Methodist = 5
4. Roman Catholic = 3
5. Anglican = 1
6. Islam =
7. 'Spiritual Church' = Nil
8. Pentecostal/Charismatic = 7
9. Jehovah's Witness = 3
10. Christian = 14
- Any other = 4

15. What is the religion of your Mother?

1. African Traditional Religion =
2. Presbyterian =
3. Methodist =
4. Roman Catholic =
5. Anglican =
6. Islam =
7. 'Spiritual Church' =
8. Pentecostal/Charismatic =
9. Any other =

(Tabulation incomplete)

16. What is the religion of your spouse?

1. African Traditional Religion = Nil
2. Presbyterian = 1
3. Methodist =
4. Roman Catholic =
5. Anglican =
6. Islam =
7. 'Spiritual Church' =
10. COP = 12
11. Christian = 18
12. Any other = 7

17. If you have children, do they belong to your denomination?

1. Some do =
2. All do =
3. None does =
4. Not applicable =

(Tabulation incomplete)

18. "The possibility of attacks from witches, sorcerers, and other evil powers is a widespread phenomenon in Ghana, because of this, people will normally seek for 'power' or 'fortification' against such evil powers". How would you comment on this assertion?

I Believe this need is shared by:

1. Almost all Ghanaians = 1
2. Every Ghanaian = 37
3. Most Ghanaians
4. Few Ghanaians =
5. No Ghanaian =
6. Any other

19. Is the Ghanaian Christian's attitude to the problem stated above different from non-Ghanaian Christians?

1. Just the same = 13
2. Almost the same = 2
3. Quite different = 21 (in the sense of the Christian's source of succour being different from that of the non-Christian)
4. Any other = 2

20. What is your own view on the above issue?

1. I believe these forces are there and that both Christians and non-Christians can be attacked by them =
2. I believe born-again Christians who are covered by the blood of Jesus are completely immuned from their attacks =
3. I believe these so called powers do not really exit.
4. Any other =

(Tabulation incomplete)

21. The doctrine of salvation through Christ is one of the pillars of the Christian faith.

1. I understand 'being saved from sin' as being delivered from spiritual and physical evils (witches, sorcerers, famine, drought, and other dangers that threaten my well-being and that of my loved ones. = 3

2. I understand 'being saved from sin' primarily to mean deliverance and forgiveness from sin through the atoning blood of Jesus, which results

in personal or corporate salvation. = 27

3. I Understand 'being saved' as a total package which includes all the above. = 1

4. Any other view = 7

22. Please indicate in order of priority where you look for help when you or any of your loved ones have some serious sickness, or when you are faced with some other difficult situation.

1. Consult my pastor/local leader = 2

2. Consult a qualified medical officer =

3. Consult another pastor or church leader irrespective of his/her denominational affiliation provided s/he is in the 'deliverance ministry' = 1

4. Consult a prophet-healer in any of the Aladura type churches)

5. Visit one of the prayer camps in the country

6. Consult a traditional herbalist or medicine wo/man

7. God/Jesus = 35

8. Any other =

C. CHURCH RELATIONS

23. How would you or your church classify the 'Aladura' type churches, ('Spiritual churches'):

1. As true Christian churches =

2. just like any other Pentecostal or Charismatic church

3. As non-Christian Cults who use demonic spirits = 20

4. Any other = 18

24. How do you see the renewal movements in the older historic churches, like the "Bible Study and Prayer Group" in the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

1. These movements are a silent revolt against, cold formal religion of the established churches = 20

2. These movements are true expression of African spirituality which is rooted in the African/biblical cosmology = 1

3. I believe unless these so called renewal movements join one of the Pentecostal or Charismatic denominations, they will soon die out =

4. The Bible says "Come out of them...." so I

believe it is not the will of God for these movements to stay in the historic churches.

5. Effective and Necessary = 7

6. It is a genuine move of God = 11.

7. Any other =

25. What do you think may have been some of the reasons why the 1980's have seen the emergence of several independent Pentecostal/Charismatic churches in Ghana? Below are some suggested reasons given by some people within the Ghanaian society. Which one(s) is/are nearest to the view you hold?

1. It is a genuine visitation of God and man can take no credit for it. = 12

2. Because the older churches (both 'Orthodox' and Pentecostal) failed to live up to God's expectation. = 2

3. Because the older Pentecostal churches 'failed to make an impact' so God has by passed them.

4. There are both religious and socioeconomic factors involved and this cannot be fully explained. =

5. Because of selfish and pride = 10

6. Any other = 14

SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT

26. How can your church help to improve the economic situation of the believers?

1. By praying for the members = 3

2. By setting up a fund for the poor and the unemployed = 8

3. By encouraging the rich to assist the poor

4. By job creation through setting up of various enterprises = 14

5. To educate members about business and prosperity = 10

6. Any other = 3

27. Would agree that our fellowship with one another is not complete so far as some of the believers we fellowship with are hungry while we are well fed?

1. Yes = 35

2. No = 1

3. Any other = 2

28. Can we conclude from I Cor. 11: 17-32 that we fail to recognize the significance of the *Lord's Supper* in as much as believers in our midst are hungry while others have surpluses?

1. Yes = 25
2. No = 8
3. Any other = 5

29. What do you think should be the Christian's attitude to politics?

1. Christians should participate fully = 31
2. Christians should not participate = 1
3. Christians should not be very active = 2
4. Others

E. GENERAL COMMENTS

30. What would you consider to be the greatest challenge the Pentecostal/ Charismatic movement in Ghana is facing today? Can you suggest some of the areas the older Pentecostal churches and the newly emerged Pentecostal churches (commonly referred to as 'Charismatics') can work together to build a strong Pentecostal movement in the country?

1. The need for Unity = 7
2. The need for manpower training/development for the clergy
3. The need for social involvement
4. The need for biblical teaching within the churches = 3
5. Evangelism = 18
6. Any other = 10

APPENDIX D

TESTIMONIES FROM THE BETHEL
PRAYER CAMP (*unedited*)¹SWOLLEN STOMACH DEFLATES
BEFORE CHRIST

My name is Kwadwo Badu, born and bred at Banda-Ahenkro in the Brong Ahafo Region. I lost both parents in the same year (1983) at age of 15. I was left with a brother and three sisters. My parents left behind a seven-roomed sand crete house.

Immediately after their death, this house was occupied by the next of kin. This successor to my father was rather harsh and cruel to us. He eventually ejected us one by one from our father's house.

I was compelled to travel to another uncle who fortunately apprenticed me to a Datsun Car Mechanic at Kumasi.

One Christmas evening, I travelled to my home town for the Christmas celebrations. On arrival, I confronted my step father with the view to claiming a room in my late father's house. This request brought a big dispute between my late father's next of kin and I. In the course of this dispute, my father's successor cursed me saying I should wait and see my final end in life.

After the Christmas holidays, I returned to

Kumasi. Not long after, I started experiencing some stomach pains. Within three weeks my stomach started swelling up. I vomited all that I ate. I was subsequently admitted to the Okomfo Anokye Teaching Hospital for a month. Various X-rays were taken and I was taken through a lot of laboratory tests but no remedy could be found. My step uncle therefore started to seek help from native doctors. We went to the Upper West Region, where we came into contact with a Muslim Spiritualist at a village called Gudi. This Muslim slaughtered some fowls and goats on our behalf after we paid a fee of 120,000 cedis. I spent seven months at Gudi with the Muslim. All kinds of herbal concoctions were prepared for me to drink and bath with but all proved futile.

My uncle and I left the Mallam still with my unhealed, swollen and painful belly. It was on our way back to Banda Ahenkro that a certain man testified of Bethel Prayer Camp, Sunyani to me in the vehicle we boarded.

We decided to go there. I arrived with my uncle on the 6th of September, 1992 at the Prayer Camp. After some period of prayers and

¹This is taken from the Maiden Issue of *Bethel News*.

fasting, I received my healing within a couple of months. There and then, my Uncle and I accepted Jesus as our Saviour. As at now, I have been baptised by immersion and received the Holy Spirit Baptism.

Glory be to JESUS.

FETISH PRIEST TURNS TO CHRIST

My name is Kwasi Denteh. I am 65 and come from Wamanafo near Dormaa Ahenkro. I was named after KRACHI DENTEH, a Fetish (in Kete Krachi, Volta Region) who, according to my mother, helped to keep me alive after successive children she produced died.

I grew up as a farmer in my village. About 6 1/2 years ago, an evil spirit possessed one of my sons by name Atta Kwasi. The spirit identified itself as "Krachi Denteh" who has been my father. Krachi Denteh requested that I send my son Atta Kwasi to his shrine for 1 1/2 years by which time Atta completed his training.

At the end of the training, we were taken to a cave where the spirits gave us an idol called KRACHI DENTEH. We returned to Wamanafo, our village and installed the god. We worshipped this idol for 1 1/2 years. After a year or so, I became very sick. "Krachi Denteh" could not heal me. I grew very lean and looked like a skeleton. I visited at least six renowned shrines at

Atomfuoso near Seikwa but did not receive healing. I was at the point of dying when two of my children - Kwame Yeboah and Joseph Appiah suggested that I go (sic) to Bethel Prayer Camp. I consented because, after all, Krachi Denteh, my supposed god, could not heal me.

At the time I was brought to Bethel, I could not get up from my mat. I passed urine and eased myself on my bed. My case was indeed hopeless. On seeing me, Evangelist Owusu Tabiri asked me three questions: (i) Did you bid good-bye to your idols before coming? (ii) Do you remember having witnessed to many people about Christ? (iii) Would you accept Christ and abandon your idols if healed?

I was surprised at the questions because the Evangelist has never met me. I agreed to accept Christ and abandon the idol. The Evangelist led me to do so after which he prayed for me. I was given a place to sleep at the camp. On the fourth day, at the camp, I had a dream and saw angels of God giving me medical treatment. One week after this dream I got up from bed and could sit down for the first time after many months.

Two months and 3 weeks after the dream, I got completely healed. The Evangelist warned me not to go back to idol worship.

On my return to Wamanafo, "Krachi Denteh" spoke through my son Attah, that

it will kill me if I forsook it. I challenged the idol that it couldn't kill me as long as Christ lived in me. One day the spirit of Krachi DenteH possessed someone whom I did not know. This unknown person attacked me with a sharp cutlass. The possessed person requested the Lord on four successive occasions to be allowed to kill me since I was a sinner. In response, I prayed aloud to God saying God should allow the assailant to kill me if I were His child. At this, the assailant attacked me with the cutlass. Blood gushed out from my head.

I fell backwards. For about twenty minutes, I lay on the ground weak. The assailant sat on me with the cutlass and attempted, without success, to cut my throat. All of a sudden, the Holy Spirit strengthened me and lifted me up.

As the assailant stood staring at my face, I heard a voice commanding me to grip my assailant's hand. I did so with energy which I still find difficult to understand. Four people appeared from nowhere and attempted to pull the assailant from my hands. my grip was so firm that they couldn't release him due to the force that was operating through me. Eventually, the four people helped by pulling my fingers one after the other from the assailant's hand. I have no doubts that it was by the power of the Holy Ghost that I overcame the assailant, the agent of

KRACHI DENTE H. I have since then stayed under the feet of Christ and have made the Lord my refuge. To the glory of God, I give this testimony.

TWELVE YEARS OF BREAST CANCER HEALED

My name is Lilly Osei Akuorkor from Kumasi. In 1982, I got married to Mr Osei Akuorkor from Obuasi in Ashanti Region. I April 1992, I developed a breast cancer.

This burden took me to many places in search of healing. My worried husband initially put me at Okomfo Anokye Hospital, Kumasi, where I had my first operation. A month and two week after this operation in Kumasi, the operated breast swelled up again with severe bleeding. This kept me indoors for several months. I was subsequently sent to the same doctor ... I was admitted for a second operation I spent one month two weeks before I was discharged. I was still experiencing acute pains with insomnia after my discharge. People introduced me to some shrines and muslims to try if I could get my healing.

My husband stopped his business and we made a trip to the Northern Region and came in contact with an idol (OBOSOM) called "Tugpi". At this place, concoctions were prepared by this fetish for me to mix with all meals I took.

He requested fowls and sheep from me to induce his "god" to help me. In spite of the sacrifices TUGPI could not heal me. So I returned to Kumasi without obtaining my healing.

We heard about a Specialist at Korle-Bu. When I contacted the doctor he said the only remedy to my breast cancer was to remove it. My husband agreed but disagreed unreservedly. It was at the hospital where a friend of mine, a female teacher, gave a brief testimony about Owusu Tabiri Together with my husband we came down to Sunyani Bethel Prayer Camp. I met the man of God, Evangelist Owusu Tabiri and narrated my story to him. He prayed for me and instructed me to do some fasting and prayers. It was during my fasting and prayers when I had a dream that a certain man visited me in white apron and asked me of my name. In the dream I told him of my breast cancer. The man instructed me to squeeze out the residual milk from my breast. I did so in the dream. On waking up the next morning, I discovered that my bed was wet with milk from my breast. I told Evangelist Owusu Tabiri about my dream and what I saw in the morning. He prayed fervently for me and confirmed my healing. Since then the breast cancer has been healed.

It was there that I saw how great Jesus Christ is and upon that, my husband and I who were Buddhists by religion converted to Christianity.

A BLIND LADY RECEIVES SIGHT

My name is Juliana Afrakomah. I come from Techiman, Tanoso in the Brong Ahafo Region. I came to the Bethel Prayer Camp in July, 1992.

Before then, I had travelled to Libya to join my fiancé. On March 6, 1991, ... the Libyan immigration authorities pounced on me and deported me to Ghana. I was determined to go back to Libya. A close friend of mine advised me to go to Kwaku Firi shrine at Nwoase for protection before going back to Libya. ... The chief priest, the late Nana Drobo performed some rituals and gave me some concoctions to be smearing on my body until I departed to Libya.

Not long after I started applying the concoction on my body, I began to experience very severe headache. Shortly after that I lost my sight.

I was sent to the Agogo Hospital where the Eye Specialist declared me hopeless. He ordered that my hair be shaved to relieve me of the pain in the head. He further advised that my hair should be shaved frequently to provide relief.

A first cousin of mine ... heard of my plight and came to our home village to convince me to come to At the Prayer Camp to meet the

Healer of all flesh. I accompanied, her to Bethel. At the Prayer Camp, we were fed with the word of God each day and we prayed. I met Christ as a personal saviour. One week after arrival at the Camp, the Lord healed me completely. I have since then not felt any pains in my eyes or head. My hair is now fully grown.

DEMONS SIT ON 60 MILLION CEDIS WORTH OF GOODS

I travelled to the UK in 1981 to study and later to work. ... Was prospered by God and acquired two houses in London. I returned to Ghana two years ago and bought a third house at Kwashieman, ... Accra. After a brief stay in Accra, I went back to the UK. Things began to turn sour. I lost my job and bills began to pile up. I was laid off within the shortest time after getting any job. I got swallowed up in debts and could no longer meet any of my financial obligations. Eventually I had to sell my houses in London to pay the debts and to avoid prosecution and disgrace.

...[I returned] to Ghana and to start afresh. ... [Some English friends] decided to take a lesser risk and shipped Air conditioners worth over 60 million cedis on trust. For one year and more, nobody bought the items. I run out of funds completely and had to sell my Kwashieman house in order to eat and to live. I had to rent a one bedroom house to live in. I

became desperate. Nobody could help me out of my situation.

Thank God. A friend spoke to me and advised me in December, 1992 to lay my problems before God. He led me to an anointed man of God, ... Evangelist Owusu Tabiri, who introduced Christ to me. The evangelist requested me to attend the January Prayer Camp Meeting. When I got back home, a sister of mine started to behave abnormally and confessed that she had put a "Rock" on the Air Conditioners spiritually and that is why the items were not being bought.

I attended the January 1993 Prayer Meeting. We prayed and bound the principalities and powers fighting against my business. The Evangelist commanded the supposed spiritual "Rock" to be lifted away by strong angels of God. After breaking the powers of the devil, the Evangelist assured me that the items would all be bought before the next prayer week in February.

Nothing happened till about 8 days to the February 1993 Breaking Week. Three days to the start of the Prayer Week, someone came and expressed his desire to purchase all the air conditioners. I couldn't believe my ears. I was shaking out of joy and surprise. On February 8, ... 1993, the purchaser issued a cheque of 60 million cedis in payment of the items.

JESUS TURNS ANTS INTO DOLLARS

The regular Tuesday Bethel Prayer Meeting was about to be ended. Ransford Kwadwo Otu, a thirty year old young man from Fiapre, a suburb of Sunyani in the Brong Ahafo Region, rushed in at the camp soaked completely with sweat. ...

Ransford said, he had lived in Canada for five years and decided to come home (Ghana) to put up a house.

He brought an amount of US \$12000 and changed \$2000 into Cedis in Accra. He proceeded to Fiapre. At Fiapre, a certain man came to Ransford and asked if [he] could exchange some dollars for 800,000 cedis. Charles agreed. When the man brought out his cedis, however, Ransford found that the man's money was short by 76000 cedis and therefore asked the man to bring the 76000 cedis the following day.

Meanwhile Ransford put the cedis brought by the man into his brief case containing the dollars, locked the brief case and sent it to his room. The man came the following morning but to the shock of Ransford, the dollars in the brief case had turned into **RED ANTS** while the cedis remained intact. Ransford began to sweat, developing running stomach immediately. Ransford asked the man to call again. meanwhile Ransford searched the whole room for the

missing dollars but could not find them.

When the man departed, Ransford went and pour the red ants out from the brief case. Not long after, the closed brief case was filled with red ants again! Ransford ... decided to take this problem to a popular shrine "KWAKU FRI" nearby. "I was so desperate that I wanted to commit suicide" said Ransford. "Just about that point, a cousin, Alfred Yeboah who had arrived from Paris and who believes in Christ, came to me. ... He advised against my intentions and asked me to go the Bethel Prayer Camp for God's intervention. I doubted God's ability to retrieve the lost money and refused to go. ... But he insisted. My cousin followed me anywhere I went and did not give me the opportunity to commit suicide. On two occasions that I attempted suicide (first with poison and then with a rope), my cousin was right at the point to save me. Eventually he managed to persuade me to go to the Bethel Camp that Tuesday.

At the Prayer Centre, the Evangelist asked the whole congregation to pray and ask God to send his angels to retrieve the money anywhere the money has disappeared to. The evangelist asked me to continue in prayers and said I will get my money restored within three days. He discerned that I did not believe in the prayers and said that even though I did not believe, his faith in his God will work.

The ants continued to fill the bag and I continued to pour them away. Strangely enough, I slept soundly that Tuesday evening. I kept the key and the brief case to myself under lock. Then a miracle happened! On the evening of that day following the prayers, I opened the bag and found the \$10,000 instead of ants. Indeed THE LORD, HE IS THE GOD.

I ran to the Prayer camp to testify only to be told that the Evangelist had travelled to Nsorkor for a Crusade. I followed him there and testified to the glory of God. I have surrendered my life to Christ.

If the devil can change dollars into red ants and Jesus can change red ants into dollars, WHO IS WHO? Judge for yourself.

MAN HEALED OF DIABETES AND PANCREAS INFECTION.

My name is John Agyei Tabiri (27 years old) from Dodosuo via Drobo. I was a fourth year student at Saint James Secondary School, Sunyani when I contracted diabetes. I was sent to Berekum Holy family Hospital for treatment and was discharged after some few days. Before my discharge, I was taught how to inject myself with insulin which I practised thereafter.

Sometime later I developed severe stomach pains and was taken to Drobo and Berekum Hospitals

respectively. The drugs administered did not improve my condition. A surgical operation was therefore performed on me. I was informed that the disease was attached to the PANCREAS, and that there was no hope of survival if the pancreas was to be operated on. When I realised that no solution could come from Medical Science, I asked to be taken to Bethel Prayer Camp. On arrival my condition aggravated but after some few days of prayer and fasting, I received my healing miraculously. All symptoms of the disease have disappeared and I am leading a normal life. Thanks to Jesus.

TWENTY-ONE YEARS WITHOUT MENSTRUATION

She was 21 years but had never passed menses. She complained of some intense heat in the head. Various drugs had been administered on her by qualified medical doctors but no cure was forthcoming. Famous herbalists, Mallams and Juju men could not help.

The mother decided to try JESUS, the healer of all diseases (Ps. 103:3). At the Bethel Prayer Camp where she was brought, the Lord touched her during one of the prayer sessions. she attests that the heat in the head is gone and she passed her first menses at the prayer camp. This is not the work of man but of the Holy Spirit.

EDUCATIONIST HEALED OF INSANITY

An educationist, Mr Gyabaah was brought to the Bethel Prayer Camp in an uncontrollable state. He has been suffering from insanity for the past twenty years. After intercessory prayers for him, he was delivered from the spirit of insanity and healed just like the mad Demoniac of Gardarene (Mark 5: 1-20).

Mr Gyabaah now heads one of the Senior Secondary Schools in the Brong Ahafo Region.

YOUNG MAN LOSES MANHOOD AFTER MARRIAGE

A young hard working man went into cocoa farming at Sefwi after his Elementary School education. After some years of farming, he decided to get married but his father objected to the idea. Sometime later, he made a second attempt with a different lady. The father objected to that.

He decided on a third lady. this time, he did not consult the father. The young man married his new-found love at Sefwi and later introduced the lady to his father who apparently was displeased. During the night, the boy realized that he could not perform. His manhood had been lost. He looked for cures at various shrines and visited Mallams but could not regain his manhood. Eventually, he came to the Bethel Prayer

Camp. Under the anointing and power of the Holy Spirit, Evangelist Tabiri prayed for him and broke the spiritual marriage between the boy and the father. The Lord answered instantly. The boy's manhood was restored at the end of the prayer. To God be the Glory.

MALE ORGAN INFLATED AFTER ADULTERY

A young man, who like many others today, was living a promiscuous life decided to fool around with somebody's wife. This time he was unlucky. After intercourse (adultery) with the woman, he had a dream that same night. In the dream, he met a man who confronted him for sleeping with the woman, [and] his assailant forcefully inflated his genital organs

When he woke up the following day, he realised that he had lost his manhood. He tried many places for a cure but to no avail. At last, at Bethel, the Holy Spirit convicted him of his sin. After confessing and a prayer of forgiveness, Evangelist Owusu Tabiri prayed for him. His manhood has been restored. He was advised to go and sin no more.

ON THE SPOT ARREST, WITCH REFUNDS 3.2 MILLION CEDIS

Mr Ofori retired from the police as an Inspector. He cultivated farms at Techimantia (B/A) with his retiring benefits. For

three consecutive years, the crops would flourish during the first half of the cropping season. Getting to harvesting time, however, the crops would wither, die and fail to yield even if it is raining. The farm land would then develop into a parched football field. This imposed very serious financial crises on the Ex-Police Inspector. In his desperation, Mr Ofori consulted Evangelist Owusu Tabiri for help. The evangelist preached the love and saving power of Christ to Mr Ofori who thereupon accepted Christ.

Mr Ofori attended the one week monthly Prayer Meeting at Bethel meeting on Thursday 11-02-93, while all participants were "binding and breaking the powers" of darkness that were fighting against their finances, a lady who was later identified as a sister of the ex-Inspector appeared at the prayer ground pleading that she should be released. She further appealed to her brother, the ex-Inspector to come for all his monies that she had seized spiritually and to loose her since Ofori was binding and stamping on her. She gave out 3200 cedis to the brother in front of the over 44,000 people at the Prayer grounds. According to Evangelist Owusu Tabiri, this represents about 3.2 million Cedis. The Evangelist then prayed for her relief.

Remember that whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven and whatever you

loose on earth will be loosed in heaven.

ABIDJAN: "ZACHAEUS" TOUCHED BY HOLY SPIRIT

The Holy Spirit lodged the Bethel Prayer Team on purpose at the magnificent mansion of Mr Dwulo Said, a wealthy man and former Mayor of Abidjan city and President of the Association of Mayors during a Revival Meeting held by the Church of Pentecost in Abidjan.

Previously, the ex-mayor relied on Muslim spiritualists, juju men, and fetish priests for protection. On hearing the WORD OF GOD he accepted Christ together with his household. His close American friend and financier also accepted Christ. They were all baptised in water. This story is akin to the Biblical story of Zachaeus.

There after, in consonance with his new found faith, he sent away all Muslim spiritualists and juju men, who prior to his conversion, frequented his house daily.

"Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and you will be saved, you and your household" (Acts 16:31).

AMSTERDAM: CRIPPLE THROWS AWAY CLUTCHES AND A LADY RISES FROM WHEELCHAIR

A Ghanaian lady at Amsterdam who had been crippled for years through a lorry accident was healed instantly and threw her clutches away at a Crusade held at Amsterdam.

At the same Crusade, a white lady who was brought to the crusade grounds in a wheel-chair got up. She walked with the help of a stick.

SEKONDI:

A CRIPPLE WALKS

A Deaconess of the Church of Pentecost, who was crippled for five years received instant healing after being prayed for during a crusade held at Sekondi. She threw away her clutches and walked to the praise and glory of God.

ASANKARE:

A PARALYSED CHIEF HEALED

The Asankare District of the Church of Pentecost held its first ever crusade from 26th-31st January, 1993. It was under the theme "IN HIM WAS LIFE" (John 1:4).

The main speaker was the anointed man of God, Evangelist Owusu Tabiri. Many disabled, (the blind, deaf and dumb) and many others were brought to the Crusade grounds for healing. The Lord glorified His name and many received healing.

On the final day of the crusade, the chief of Asankare, a man in his sixties, who has been

paralysed and could not walk for some couple of years invited the Evangelist to his house to be prayed for. The Chief who was a pagan was first led to accept Christ before the Evangelist prayed for his healing. The Chief, Nana Oppong-Wiredu, had instant healing. He walked before the Queen and the elders who witnessed when he was being prayed for. The chief later offered to the Church four plots of land for Church building.

HO:

MAN DELIVERED FROM DEMONIC OBSESSION

It was at the Ho District Crusade held by the Church of Pentecost early last year [1992].

A middle aged famous juju man who was obsessed by evil spirits for the past 15 years complained of often hearing voices of various animals.

Under the anointing of the Holy Spirit, Evangelist Owusu Tabiri cast out he demons. The man was totally delivered and accepted Christ as Lord and Saviour.

Indeed, all power on earth and in heaven has been given to Jesus.

DRUG ADDICT DELIVERED AND CONVERTED

A 31 year old drug addict by name Asante Kwasi from Sunyani was delivered and converted at the Bethel Prayer Camp.

Asante started smoking Indian Hemp and drinking hard liquor at the age of 13. After some time he became an addict and developed a great dislike for anything Christian.

Their smoking "Base" was near the Bethel Prayer Camp. Asante and his friends eased themselves on the grounds after each day's smoking and drinking spree. All this time, he felt a vacuum in his life and wanted to quit smoking and drinking but was completely held sway by the addiction.

A Christian sister who had noticed his desperation invited him to Bethel Prayer Camp where he was delivered from the bondage of drug addiction. He was converted later.

Asante now helps to clean the very Prayer Camp he endeavoured to desecrate. He also sells Bibles and preaches the Word of God.

To the many who are hooked unto drugs, we assured, them that Jesus Christ can deliver them if they take a step of faith to Him.

APPENDIX E

TESTIMONIES: SUHUM NEW TOWN PRAYER CAMP

(These unedited testimonies were taken from the records kept at the Camp)

Date: 5th March 1988
Name: Borteley
Home Town: Suhum
Occupation: Trader

That service to man is service to God is true. I had been married for 7 years without an issue. In 1986, I gave my life to Jesus. I then sought refuge in this prayer ministry asking God to bless me with a child.

During that period, prayers were organised under some palm trees near where these permanent buildings are now erected. Just at that time work had started on the buildings. I felt some urge to render some service. All that I could contribute as a woman was to take up the feeding of the workers on the project.

Each morning I would provide enough balls of Kenkey and fish free of charge for the workers. I did that for a purpose believing that admonition of Paul at Colossians 3:23-24.

In the course of my regular service to the workers, I missed my period. Later it my pregnancy was confirmed by my doctor. It was incredible. I thank God that I now have a handsome baby boy.

Date: 9th August 1988

Name: Adi Comfort
Home Town: Akropong-Akwapim
Occupation: Seamstress

From experience I have realised that if one is in the world or before one comes to Christ, one's life is in danger under the bondage of Satan.

I got married to a young man and God planted a seed in my belly. During my days of pregnancy, I was very ill every now and then. I was sent to many places including hospitals but the more I receive treatment the more my condition got serious. At night during sleep I used to dream that I have been bitten by somebody and true to the sense of the word I woke up to find that I have really been bitten.

After all hope was gone God directed me to see Brother Kwabena Adum at the prayer group at Suhum. He asked me to wait upon the Lord. Something I was reluctant to do. My first night at the Revival Centre, I felt I was recovering and I had none of the dreadful dreams I used to have at night. This gave me some encouragement and I held fast to my faith.

The sickness left without any trace of it, and I delivered safely.

The devil attacked my child after birth. At the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, I was told that my three week old baby had haenia and that he had to be operated on. My child underwent a successful operation and we are all safe in the hands of God.

Date: 10. 12. 88

Name: Lydia Nkansah

Occupation: Mason

Home Town: Osiem (E.R.)

I was one of those Ghanaians who joined the "Agege Wagon" on the exodus to Nigeria in search of greener pastures.

Unfortunately for me I was attacked by a strange disease in the form of madness. I attended one of the hospitals there. I was later told by the doctor to consult a native doctor or return to Ghana for treatment.

I thereafter decided to consult with a malam [a Moslem spiritualist]. Before attending to me, he collected from me 1 fowl, 1 bottle of palm oil, 1 calabash, and 2 Naira. He then told me that my illness, among other things, caused by one young man I had fought against. He prepared some concoctions for me but my disease got worse.

I therefore decided to consult another malam. He told me that before my life could be saved I should present the following items: 1 small coffin, 6 yards of calico, 6 yards of band, 6 yards each of blue, white and black cloth, 12

different kinds of fruits, and one doll (which he claimed represented my soul).

I did not recover so I reported to him again. At this time he collected 500 Naira from me. My sickness, however did not improve so I returned to Ghana worried that I stay longer there I may die.

On reaching Accra, Ghana, I reluctantly followed my father to the Suhum prayer group. Little did I know that anything good would come from there. The day of our arrival there the man of God prayed for me. That night, for the first time since the beginning of this sickness, I slept soundly.

The man of God told me to wait on God. The sickness "vanished" within three days of prayers. I am now a free man.

What surprises me is that here I was not asked to present anything nor did I bathe any concoction. What was presented to me was the Word of God. "I thank God very much and upon this I have accepted Christ Jesus and have been baptised. I say this to the glory of God".

Date: 2. 3. 89

Name: Victoria Tetteh

Home Town: Osino (E.R.)

Occupation: Akpeteshie
(local gin) seller.

For the past ten years, I have been suffering from stomach troubles with sever abnormal pains. I also developed some heart problems, jaundice, and

other illness.

I consulted doctors and malams and the malams told me that the disease was the work of the devil. I was then requested to provide 1 fowl, 1/2 piece (6 yards) of cloth, a bottle of akpeteshie and some money.

After one month the sickness became worse. I was directed to a malam at Bolgatanga [Upper Region]. I had a ritual bath. I also had some incisions. My brothers paid for the charges. Here again, I did not recover.

I was directed to see another malam at Odumase-Manpong (E.R.). I was there for one month and there too, I was asked to provide the following: three bottles of florida water, 1 tin of perfume, 1 tin of powder, 1 bottle of oil. In addition my father paid some amount of money to him.

We finally came to the Suhum prayer camp. Here we were not asked to present anything. No concoction was prepared for me either. What was presented to me was my Saviour Jesus. I thank the Lord that after accepting Him as my personal saviour, the said disease is gone for ever.

Date: 11. 02.89

Name: Mr Nyarko Hayford

Occupation: Trading

Home Town: Ahinase (Kwahu, E.R.)

My mother suffered from strange disease of the heart for a decade. During

the illness she decided to seek help from a number of fetish priests and priestesses. Each time she returned from a fetish shrine, the sickness got worse. At one time she had to consult a fetish priest at Pitico in the Afram Plains, where she was asked to bring the following: 1 big sheep, 1 personal cloth, and 500,000 cedis (more than £1000 then). After some considerable number of years without help, my brother-in-law directed us to Pentecost Prayer Camp at Suhum. On getting this advice we immediately brought her down. It was a Saturday morning revival, and after prayers were said for her, she started recovering. After that days prayer meeting I met with the man of God and presented my mother's case. The circumstances behind the sickness were revealed to us. She was asked to wait upon the Lord for two weeks. The disease vanished by the end of the second week. It has not returned since. Here unlike the other previous places "I visited, I was not asked to bring anything material but the Word of God, fasting, and prayers. Through these, God glorified Himself and I have now come back to my normal self.

Date: 1. 7. 1990

Name: Sister Ohenewa

Home Town: Manpong-Akwapim (E.R.)

Occupation: Hairdressing

I was suddenly attacked by a strange disease in 1985. I visited the Tetteh Quarshie Memorial Hospital

where I was admitted. Later the doctor discovered that I was suffering from jaundice. After being transferred to the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, the doctor informed me that my liver was rotten. I had also developed swollen feet. The doctor prescribed a single drug costing 150,000 cedis. He added that if I could not afford then I should prepare to die at any moment. Since I could not afford to buy it, I was administered with only sleeping tablets with the notion that I die through sleeping.

I was later discharged to go and die at home. It was at this point in time that I was directed to Suhum Church of Pentecost Prayer Camp. There I met the man of God, Elder Adum, who through prayer and fasting asked God to save my life.

Miraculously after 2 years of this agony, I am still alive fully recovered and singing praises to Jesus for the wonderful work He has done for me. Furthermore, my life has changed completely and I am closer to God. Praise Jesus.

APPENDIX F

TESTIMONIES **SEPE PRAYER CAMP, KUMASI¹**

(Verbatim from the Records of the Sepe Camp)

1991**1. March:**

A medical officer from USA with mental problem was spiritually healed.

2. April

A 36 year old woman crippled by stroke was healed.

3. May

An unconscious man brought from Agroyesum was instantly healed after prayer.

4. June

A 45 year old woman had her first child after 25 years of marriage.

5. July

A 15 year old wizard boy who could turn into different types of snakes was delivered from the powers of Satan.

6. August

A witch who had killed 18 people was delivered from the power of satan.

7. September

A lame woman was able to walk after 20 years of sickness.

8. October

A 50 year old blind received his sight.

9. November

A man sick from a swollen stomach and was delivered by medical officer that he will die within a month was healed.

10. A boy who accidentally swallowed a nail vomited the nail after prayer

December

11. A 40 year old man received his fertility after 10 years of infertility

1992**January.**

13. A 30 year old barren lady had a baby boy after several years of childless marriage.

14. A 50 year old sick woman who had been given up to die by both European and Ghanaian doctors was healed.

¹Apparently the healing ministry of Prophet Boahen has come to the attention of the doctors at the Okomfo Anokye Teaching Hospital. He confirmed that two doctors from the hospital had visited his camp and interviewed him on his healing activities. Arrangements which the present writer initiated in order to meet with these two doctors had to be aborted due to financial and time constraints.

15. A sister who could not be cured by specialist doctors at the Okomfo Anokye and the 37 Military Hospitals was healed.

February

16. A 65 year old wizard who had killed many people was prayed for and the demons were cast out of her.

17. A 28 year old woman had a baby after almost ten years of childless marriage.

18. A 54 year old woman who was suffering from a chronic disease was healed.

19. A 28 year old man who was mentally sick and used to cry like an animal was delivered.

20. A 32 year old paralysed man from Breman was healed.

21. A six year old child who fell unconscious received instant deliverance after prayer.

March

22. A 30 year old mother (with a three month old baby) was healed of a mental disorder was healed.

23. A ten year broken marriage was healed after 10 years of prayer by the female couple.

24. The child of a converted Muslim was healed.

25. A man who had a gun shot in 1923 and after unsuccessful efforts by doctors to remove the

bullets, had them removed through prayer.

July

26. A 50 year old woman who could not urinate or to the stool had her deliverance.

27. A mentally disordered woman got deliverance.

28. A young man who could not breathe [i.e. respiratory problem] despite all fruitless efforts by doctors had his deliverance.

29. A 10 year old boy (wizard) vomited a bead and an ear ring. (These are believed to be the force behind the boy's power)

30. An educationist who became mad for 22 years was delivered.

31. A 28 year old mental patient by name Abrafi was delivered.

32. Regina Agyei Tawiah, a mental patient who once fell in a pit latrine was healed.

August

33. A 35 year old cripple (a woman) from Dominase was bale to walk in the course of prayers.

34. A pregnant woman who medical doctors had certified the baby was dead in the womb and the delivery organ [was also] destroyed and that she [would] die at all cost, delivered a baby boy after fasting and prayers.

APPENDIX G

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF TOGO, BENIN AND IVORY COAST
BRANCHES OF THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST

The Church in Togo and Benin

The churches in Togo and Benin were started in the early 1950s through the efforts of some Ghanaian fisherman who had relocated to that place. By September, 1955, Pastor F.K. Darkooh, had taken charge of the work in the twin-region. Togo and Dahomey (now Benin). The desire of the executive to evangelise these two region is spelt out thus:

It is in our heart to evangelise Dahomey, but as French laws prohibit non-natives entering there, Pastor Darkooh will send two approved natives to study in the Bible school and to return later for evangelisation. These shall be placed on the Assisted Scheme (i.e. money sent fro U.S.A. to support Native Ministers.¹

Later on in April 1958, Rev Darkooh, who is now an apostle, reported that the French authorities had relaxed the difficulties placed in the way of missionaries and native ministers. There are nine native evangelists who have built assemblies at such places as Atakpame, Assahou, Nuatja, Tsevie, Sevegan, Anecho, etc. There is a great need of transport facilities in this vast area, as regular visits to assemblies are hindered to a great extent.²

During the intervening period April 1958 and March 1959, the American evangelist, T.L. Osborne held some evangelistic campaigns here and about 175 new converts joined the churches in the district. During his visit Osborne made a commitment to re-engage some native workers in the district.³ He pledged to continue more support for the native workers.

The allowances that Apostle Darkooh were to pay to the native workers engendered some controversies between him and the workers, in consequence, the council had to institute some internal controls. It is not clear what further problems Apostle Darkooh might have had with the executive, but by April 1960, he had seceded with part of the church and Apostle A.S. Mallet, had taken charge of the

¹Council Minutes, Sept. 1955.

²Council Minutes, April 1958, 8.

³Council Minutes, March 1959, 9.

work in the twin countries.⁴

Apostle Mallet encountered some initial difficulties including health problems but he succeeded in getting the work going. As at September 1960, there was a total membership of 1,339 in Togo and 110 in Dahomey.⁵

The Rev Vincent Y. Gogo, a Togolese took over in 1963. On 1st October, 1964 Rev Stephen Westfall and his wife, missionaries from USA, arrived at Lome to assist in the work.⁶ Gogo, Westfall and the entire workers seemed to have done a great job there. The Council commends:

He [Westfall] brought with him a portable printing machine with which to print circular letters, etc. He and his wife are a great help to the work there. Pastor V.Y. Gogo and the other Workers are doing exceedingly well. There were 102 assemblies with 3006 members in Togo, and Dahomey had 24 assemblies and 1056 members.⁷

In April 1966 Gogo reported at the Council meeting that inspite of some difficulties the leadership was encountering with the youth in the church, the church was still making progress. He reported of 132 assemblies with a total membership of 4100 in the two regions. A request was made to the council to place a Ghanaian Apostle in Togo and another in Dahomey. It was also requested that Togo and Dahomey should be separated for ease of administration.⁸

Apostle F.S. Safo took over the work in the twin states in late 1966 as the region's first Apostle. Apostle Safo's early days in the region were met with problems. We read that

Chairman had been there to settle the troubles and crises that were plaguing and crippling the work in Lome in particular and Togo-

⁴It is highly probable that the controversy over the so-called assisted funds coupled with unmitigated working conditions might have been contributory factors. The council minutes records that: "As transport difficulties are great, the present car for the Apostle is too old for the rough roads; Council is requested to provide a better car" (April 1960).

⁵Council Minutes, September 1960, 7.

⁶Westfall had no church affiliation in USA. He was supported by some individuals and independent churches in that country.

⁷General Ministers Council, April, 1965, 11.

⁸Council Meeting, April 1966, 5.

Dahomey churches in general....⁹

One of the remarkable things Safo did when he took over the work was that he recommended to the council the promotions of some of the workers who had served the church for several years without promotion. One of the workers who benefited from this exercise was Ben Y. Apedo and four others who were promoted into the pastorate. In this exercise, Pastor Gogo was posted from Togo to Peki. Safo initiated several changes in the work in this twin-region which enhanced the progress of the work. The work saw a steady growth from 1966 to 1971. The total number of adult membership stood at 6564 in 1971 but by April 1974 the number had gone down to 5473. Safo served in the region until 1976.¹⁰ Safo was a man ahead of his generation. He was the first to see and identify the need for missions board. We read from official sources that:

In order to facilitate the smooth running of the work on Mission Fields in general, the Apostle requests Council to set up a Missionary Board which will initiate policy, deal with confidential and psychological aspects of Missionary Work.¹¹

Apostle C.C.A. Hushie took over the leadership of the work in Togo and Benin in 1976. Pastor Hushie led the work here for two years before handing over in 1978 to Apostle B.Y. Apedo, a Togolese national who had previously served under Safo.

Apostle Apedo served in the twin-region for seven years before handing over the work in Benin to Rev Germain Coffi Gbankpan, a national. In the early 1980s a

⁹Council Minutes, March 1967.

¹⁰It is not clear what might cause the drop in membership at this period. We also do not have the statistics for the period between 1974 to 1976 when Apostle Safo was transferred from the region. What is clear from oral sources is that Apostle Safo did a very good work in the region before he was posted to Kumasi as the Ashanti Regional Apostle. It is believed God richly blessed his ministry there. On his transfer a large section of the leaders in the Togo-Dahomey region accompanied him in a fleet of vehicle to his new station.

¹¹General Council Minutes, March 1967, 7. The functions of the mission board was apparently carried out by the Chairman of the Church. It was not until April 1991 that we read of the existence of a missions office.

row broke up between the Togolese government and her Ghanaian counterpart. The Church of Pentecost was in consequence banned in Togo. The church went underground. Some of the church buildings belonging to the COP were occupied by the Assemblies of God. When the Church was reopened in 1984 it had to operate under the umbrella of **Togo Evangelical Church**. The church however, was faced with another kind of problem: its church buildings at Attitogon, Tsevie, Sevegan, Assaboun, and Dekandji Akakayi, Ogoe and Lato had been occupied by the Assemblies of God and they did not want to relinquish them. When the emerged church wanted to repossess the buildings, the AG sued it. Through the help of the "Moderator of Protestant Churches in Togo" the chapels were retrieved.¹² The annual report for 1985 indicates that the church had:

Districts	19
Assemblies	119
Members (Adults)	5035
Newly baptised ¹³	1168
Dedicated Children	305

Apostle Apedo was transferred from Togo to Abijan, Ivory Coast in 1986 as a Missionary to that nation, and Apostle P. Kokoe Mensah took over the work in Togo. We are told that as at 1987 "The state of the Church is very excellent and encouraging. The work of the Lord is in progress, as one could wish".¹⁴ The following was the statistics for the period:

Districts	24
Assemblies	160
Membership (Adults)	7300
Children	4747
Newly baptised	1338

¹²Minutes of Extra-ordinary General Council Meeting, April 1986, 40.

¹³This the number of converts baptised in the year 1984/85. By the reckonings of COP this number is included in the total number of membership.

¹⁴Annual Report on Togo for 1987 re: Minutes of Extra Ordinary Church General Council Meeting, May 1988, 27.

At the same period inspite of controversies with secessionists,¹⁵ the church in Benin under Rev Germain Gbankpan was doing well. The following was the statistics for the period:¹⁶

Number of Districts	10
Number of Assemblies	61
Number of Adults	3319
Number of Children	2599
New Converts baptised	776

The church in Togo up to December 1990 was still operating under the umbrella of **Togo Evangelical Church**. By 1990 leadership problems within the church had developed to a serious proportion. Efforts by the executive to seek redress were unsuccessful and by April 1991 large section of the church including the leadership had seceded under Pastor Mawuko Ayitey D'Almeida, who was second in command to Apostle Kokoe Mensah.¹⁷

Apostle B.Y. Apedo was thus transferred from Abidjan to Togo to salvage the work but the work has gone back to its incipient stage. Adult membership now stands at 532! The Chairman of COP does not, however, seem to have lost hope, as he states "all is not lost in Togo and we are encouraging and strengthening the remnant into a buoyant Church of Jesus Christ."¹⁸

The work in Benin is still thriving. Pastor E.K. Barabu took over the administration of the work in October 1991. Figures for 1991 and 1992 stood as follows:¹⁹

¹⁵The report indicates that one NATO and his group were ordered by the Ministry of Home Affairs on February 11, 1988, to establish their own church "and to find out a new denomination, to hand back the Church property and to withdraw from circulation their illegal calenders they have printed for the year 1988.

¹⁶Ibid., 33.

¹⁷Pastor D'Almeida was ordained into the pastorate by the late Apostle Safo in 1967.

¹⁸Minutes of Extra-ordinary Council Minutes, April 1992, 32.

¹⁹Reports for General Council Meeting, March 1993, 159.

	1992	1991
No of Assemblies	96	84
Adult Membership	55945	4843
Children Membership	4130	3624
Converts Baptised	643	447

The Benin church now has a National Executive Council composed of five pastors and two elders. It also has a council of administration composed of two pastors and four elders. There is also a National Finance Board. This arrangement, which is a new invention, seems to be a step in the right direction. If this mechanism were to be in place in Togo the kind of leadership squabbles that eventually led to the secession, might not have arisen.

Some of the people that contributed the development of the work in Togo and Benin were T.L. Osborne, Rev and Mrs Westfall, Miss Else Ebbestad. Osborne held some evangelistic campaigns in the region. His film, "The Ghanaian" which was shown in Togo in the 1960s drew crowds. His support of native evangelists also contributed to the development of the work in no small terms. Miss Ebbestad, a nurse, arrived in the country in 1967. She was in charge of the Mobil Clinic which was in operation in the region. When she returned from furlough in 1970 she came with two other nurses to assist her. These ladies also started "The French Bible Correspondence Course" which attracted a lot of students from the West African sub-region.²⁰

The Church in Ivory Coast

The church in the Ivory Coast is now the largest of the external branches of the Church of Pentecost. The church started in the early 1950s.²¹ It was officially established in 1966 when Apostle Paintsil and Pastor J.B. Archer visited Abidjan in early 1966. The main congregation, located at Treichville, Abidjan, was made up of

²⁰Council Minutes, April 1974, 9.

²¹Leonard indicates that the church started in the early 1950s through people migrating from the Gold Coast (Leonard, 151). Elsewhere we are told that the church was started in 1956 by the first missionary, Pastor J.B. Archer (*COP International Missions*, 1991).

52 adults, most of whom were natives.²² It was during this visit that the church was officially registered.

During the visit of Archer and Paintsil, an administrative council or a Presbytery Council known in French as "Conseil d'Administration de Eglise de Pentecote, Cote d'Ivoire" was formed. Members of the Council were:

Pastor J.B. Archer (Missionary and Ghanaian Representative)
 Pastor Samuel Ble Mockey (Assistant Pastor)
 Elders: Brew Stephen E. Nzimah, Barthelemey Abrou Kadjo, N'Guetta Pierre
 Deaconess: Tanoé Marie Alloua
 Treasurer: Anotchi Jean
 Secretary: Attie Ahossankan
 Conseiller: Ellie Jean & Porquet.

Pastor B.K. Swanzy took over the work in 1st November, 1968. Other missionaries that followed Swanzy are: Pastor J.W. Sackey, Pastor Appiah, and Apostle B.K. Arthur.²³ The church here did not have a smooth sail. There were secessions. Pastor K.A. Gaston, the Pastor in charge in 1985/86, reports of an ongoing conflicts with a secessionist group led by one Elder Anotchie. This led Pastor Gaston to adopt a new name, **Eglise Evangelique de Bethel**, for the church in the country.²⁴ Pastor Apedo was transferred there in 1986. He was apparently able to lead the church forward inspite of the work of the secessionists. Total adult membership rose to 2990 in 1987. On 27 July 1990 the Ministry of Interior gave the church an official recognition, referred to as "**The Statute of the Church**".²⁵

Because of the crisis in Togo Apostle Apedo was transferred to Togo in 1991. The 1990 and 1991 church statistics revealed the following position:

²²General Council Minutes, April 1966, 5. As at the time this church was registered there were other two small assemblies at Grand Bassam and Dabou.

²³*The Church of Pentecost International Missions*, 19.

²⁴Minutes of Extra-Ordinary General Council Meetings April 1986, 48. This new name did not seem to have lasted long. Efforts to register the church under this name did not seem to have succeeded or perhaps the whole idea was later abandoned.

²⁵At the moment we do not have any information as to the implications of this.

	1990	1991
Assemblies	151	168
Adult Membership	5585	8303
Children	1751	2568
Converts Baptised	857	2221

Apostle Michael K Ntumy took over from Apostle Apedo on 17th September 1991. Ntumy took over when the church here was at its peak. His tribute to Apedo was a sincere expression of the achievements of Apedo in the country.

At this juncture, Rev Chairman, kindly permit me to pay glowing tribute to the pioneer Missionaries and others who preceded me to this nation. A special recognition goes to Apostle Apedo. He is a real man of God. He met only Six (6) Church Districts, Sixty-five (65) Assemblies and about 2000 members when he came to Cote D'Ivoire in 1986 but left behind him Nineteen (19) Church Districts, One Hundred and Twenty-seven (127) Assemblies and as many as over Seven thousand (7000) members in 1991. A man like this really deserves special recognition.²⁶

The church here seems to be experiencing a bumper harvest now. The 1992 figures shows

Districts	29
No of Assemblies	244
Adult Membership	13336
Children Membership	4078
Baptisms	3803

The Church has a National Executive Council presided over by the national head. It now has four Regional Heads which include Apostle K. A. Gaston who was for some time the Pastor-in-Charge. One interesting development is that in 1992 the founder of **Eglise Apostolique de La Foi**, Rev J.K. Appiah, a Church of Pentecost Missionary to Cote d'Ivoire in 1978, applied for integration with the **COP**. The International Executive agreed to the integration January 2 1993.²⁷

²⁶Annual Reports: Minutes of Extra-Ordinary Council Meeting, April 1992, 70.

²⁷This church has fifteen congregations, one pastor and one overseer. The statistics of this church is not included in the 1992 figures provided above.

RESOLUTION
OF THE

441
May 23, 1953

APOSTOLIC CHURCH (GOLD COAST), COUNCIL.

WE, the African Ministers and General Deacons of the Apostolic Church (Gold Coast), have considered carefully the news which has reached us from the United Kingdom concerning our Superintendent, Pastor James McKeown.

We understand that Pastor James McKeown has been dismissed by the General Council of the Apostolic Missionary Movement, United Kingdom, because of his refusal to relinquish certain teachings brought to us recently by a Team called 'Latter Rain Team', and, consequent upon this, his refusal to reaffirm his unreserved allegiance and obedience to the Home Council and the Practices of the Church in the British Isles.

We also understand that the Home Council was helped in its decision, which resulted in the dismissal of our dear Superintendent, by many adverse and conflicting reports received by them from West Africa, particularly Nigeria.

We wish to place on record that, as far as the Apostolic Church, (Gold Coast), is concerned, no single voice has been heard amongst us in condemnation of the Latter Rain Team, rather the opposite: we received great blessing and liberation.

Since the Team left us we have been carrying on as before, but with greater power, zeal, knowledge and liberty. We have not overthrown ~~over~~ any of our former working arrangements nor have we turned our backs on the Eleven Fundamental Tenets propagated by the Apostolic Missionary Movement, something has definitely been added to us.

We deeply deplore the rejection of 'Latter Rain Teaching', so called, by the Home Council, but what we heard and saw when the Team was present with us found a response in our spirits and we found nothing contrary to the Written Word of God, we entered in wholeheartedly and God greatly blessed us.

Accordingly it is hereby resolved

THAT despite the dismissal of our Superintendent James McKeown by the Home Council, we unanimously decide to ask him to return to the Gold Coast as our Superintendent and continue with us as before.

THAT whilst appreciating the sacrifice made by the Apostolic Missionary Movement in the United Kingdom in former years in sending us missionaries from time to time, we unanimously decide to withdraw our connection with the Home Committee and Council henceforth and ask them not to send any missionaries to us in the future and to withdraw those at present on the field.

THAT we shall not entertain any delegation sent to us by the Home Council.

THAT copies of this Resolution be sent to
The Missionary Committee, Bradford,
Superintendent Pastor James McKeown, Nr. Ireland,
Missionaries Albert Seaborne and S. Mc. Hammond, Hohoe and Saltpond respectively,
Superintendent Missionaries in Nigeria,
and to Responsible Authorities on the Gold Coast.

SIGNED AT ACCRA, THIS 21st DAY OF MAY,
ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THREE
(1953) A.D.

SIGNED BY:

APOSTLES: J.A.C. Anaman, Ashanti Province, (Ag.Chairman) *J.A.C. Anaman*
S.R. Asoomang, Western & Central Provinces,
A.S. Mallet, Eastern Province *A.S. Mallet*
C.K. Diaba, Trans-Volta Province *C.K. Diaba*
J. Egyir-Paintsil, Accra Province *J. Egyir-Paintsil*
PROPHETS: J.C. Quaye, Asamankese district *J.C. Quaye*
S.H. Ankamah, Mampong-Ashanti District *S.H. Ankamah*
C.E. Apau-Asante, Tamale, Northern Territories *C.E. Apau-Asante*
GENERAL DEACONS: J.A. Budu, Western Area *J.A. Budu*
J.E. Smith, Central Area *J.E. Smith*
E.Y. Boateng, Eastern Area *E.Y. Boateng*
Alex Bonsu, Ashanti Area *Alex Bonsu*
FINANCIAL SECRETARY: S. Lantey Adotey, *S. Lantey Adotey*
EVANGELIST: E. Adu-Pare, National, *E. Adu-Pare*
PASTORS: S.W. Dufuor, Tarkwa District *S.W. Dufuor*
S.T.W. Phrimpong, Kumawu-Ash. District *S.T.W. Phrimpong*
J.A. Bimpong, Juaso-Ashanti-Akim District *J.A. Bimpong*
D.K. Boateng, Buhum District *D.K. Boateng*
D. Nyarko Jones, Winneba-Swedru District *D. Nyarko Jones*
J.S. Gyimah, Akroso District *J.S. Gyimah*
G. Alfonso Wood, Kwahu District *G. Alfonso Wood*
J.W. Sackey, Axim-Dixcove District *J.W. Sackey*
B.A. Mante-Adu, Oda District *B.A. Mante-Adu*
J.D. Mintah, Sekondi-Ashanti District *J.D. Mintah*
A.K. Yaw, Cape Coast-Abura-Assin District *A.K. Yaw*
J.E. Wilson, Kadjebi-Buem District *J.E. Wilson*
F.D. Walker, Kumasi District *F.D. Walker*
C.S.T. Owuo, Accra District *C.S.T. Owuo*
S.K. Ampiah, Bekwai-Adansi District *S.K. Ampiah*
D. Korley, Krobo District *D. Korley*
M.E. Kesso, Akwapim District *M.E. Kesso*
W.B. Date, Dunkwa-Sehwi District *W.B. Date*

R E S O L U T I O N
OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH, ILESHA AREA COUNCIL ... (NIGERIA).

This Resolution is based on the letter written by the Secretary of the Apostolic Church on behalf of the Quadrennial Council, England to the Western Area Secretary - Pastor E.O. Onabajo on the 12th May, 1953, copies of which were sent to our two Apostles - Pastors P.O. Fasan and G.E.S. Olakanpo.

We found it very surprising to read in the paragraphs 1 & 2 of the letter, that confusion and misunderstanding have been the result of the visit of our two brethren in persons of Dr. T. Wyatt and Pastor F.C. Poole that came as a "Latter Rain" Delegation from America. That they have "abused the privileges granted them in condoning, both in public and in private; our recognised Church Government in the Apostolic Church". These charges we regard as untrue as far as their teaching and ministry are concerned during their visit to Ilesha Area.

Now as it has been decided by the Quadrennial Council in the United Kingdom that the teaching of Latter Rain is totally contradictory to the truths taught by the Apostolic Church and definitely incompatible and irreconcilable to same, and that no alternative but to ask each one individually both in Home Land and foreign field to reaffirm his faith in the Tenets and Practices of the Apostolic Church without reservation whatsoever.

On the face of the above statements, we, the Apostolic Church, Ilesha Area Council unanimously agreed (with exception of none) on the following resolution:-

1. That, neither confusion, abuse nor misunderstanding has ever been the outcome of the visit of Latter Rain Delegation among us.
2. That, we do not (in any way) require the visit of the two Representatives of the Quadrennial Council in persons of Pastor C.H. Rosser and the Missionary Secretary with plenary powers on the ground of the heretic news of confusion or misunderstanding which has no reliable sources. Failure to observe this, will result to unwillingness and unpreparedness on our part to meet them.
3. That, though we as the Apostolic Church that started in 1930, thoroughly accept the Eleven Tenets of the Church which came latter from Bradford and also the Twelfth - on the Divine Healing for we have sufficient Scriptures to support them. But we do not accept any other things in the Constitution which do not correspond to the Holy Word, and we are hundred per cent the so-called Latter Rain teaching.
4. That as from the time this letter of Resolution comes to your possession, we do not require any more missionaries from Bradford England that do not comply with our resolution and to withdraw those at present on the field who do not comply same.
5. That we are very grateful to you on all your sacrifices and expenses on us during the past years. May the Lord help you.
6. That copies of this resolution are sent to:-
 1. Missionary Secretary Apostolic Church Bradford England.
 2. The Apostolic Church Lagos Area through Supt. S. Adegboyega.
 3. The Apostolic Church Calabar Nigeria.
 4. The Apostolic Church Kabe Area through Pastor K.P. Titus.
 5. The Apostolic Church Zaria Area through Overseer J. Agboola.
 6. The apostolic Church Gold Coast Africa.
 7. The Supt. Pastor S.G. Elton.
 8. Miss Ungerman.
 9. Pastor E.F. Parkyns.
 10. Pastor F. Williams.
 12. Principal V.E. Wood.
7. Signed on behalf of Ilesha AREA COUNCIL:-

7. Signed on behalf of Ilorin AREA COUNCIL:-

Apostles.

(Signed) P.O.Fasan
" G.E.S.Olakanpo

Pastors

(Signed) J.O.Adefidipo
" D.P.Fagbemi
" S.O.A.Akinola
" G.A.Obadare
" M.O.Igo
" J.A.Ibidapo
" G.B.Oladole
" G.B.Adujelowi
" J.F.Olatonabo
" J.O.Oluseji
" D.S.Obadare
" J.A.Fowewe
" E.G.Obadare
" J.O.Banji
" D. Akudiya

Evangelist.

" G.A.Daramola

Prophet.

" G.Yadiro

Elders

(Signed) J.P.Babatope
" E.O.Ojo
" E.Ayewusi
" J.F.Adufe
" D.O.Fajanyigbe
" E.F.Agboniyi
" Fasoyihu J.O.
" S.O.Olarawaji
" E.O.Adekonla
" J.Olowokere
" Dafidi
" S.O.Bewaji
" D.F.K.Olawufiade
" J.Agayomi
" David Omosoli
" S.O.Faduyi
" D.O.Yeley
" Defili Akansa

The organizational chart is structured as follows:

- GENERAL COUNCIL**
 - EXECUTIVE COUNCIL**
 - CHAIRMAN**
 - GENERAL SECRETARY**
 - FIN & ADM. DIRECTOR**
 - MISSIONS DIRECTOR**
 - NATIONAL COUNCIL**
 - NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL**
 - PERSONNEL MANAGER**
 - PERSONNEL SECTION**
 - PROTOCOL SECTION**
 - ACCOUNTS SECTION**
 - LEGAL SECTION**
 - ESTATE SECTION**
 - MAINTENANCE SECTION**
 - WORKSHOP MANAGER**
 - GENERAL SERVICES MANAGER**
 - PERSONNEL SECTION**
 - PROTOCOL SECTION**
 - TRANSPORT SECTION**
 - FINANCIAL MANAGER**
 - ACCOUNTS SECTION**
 - MAINTENANCE SECTION**
 - LEGAL SECTION**
 - AUDIO VISUAL MANAGER**
 - ESTATE MANAGER**
 - LITERATURE MANAGER**
 - POST MANAGER**
 - PENTECOSTS MANAGER**

- BOARD OF DIRECTORS**
- PENTECOST PRESS LTD.**
- INTERNATIONAL MISSIONS BOARD**
- COP BIBLE TRAINING CENTRE**
- OTHER BOARD COMMITTEES**
- REGIONAL PRESBYTERY**
- REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL**
 - DISTRICT PRESBYTERY**
 - DISTRICT EXECUTIVE COUNCIL**
 - LOCAL PRESBYTERY**
 - LOCAL LEADERS (MOVEMENTS)**
- REGIONAL/AREA HEAD (APOSTLE / PROPHET)**
- DISTRICT PASTOR**
 - ELDER (Presiding)**
- GENERAL LEADERS (MOVEMENTS)**
- REGIONAL LEADERS (MOVEMENTS)**
- DISTRICT LEADERS (MOVEMENTS)**
- LOCAL LEADERS (MOVEMENTS)**

APPENDIX J**Summary of Needs and Supplications
Presented at Prayer Camps**

1. **Group One. Okanta: June 1992-August 1992 (Pp.1-3)**
2. **Group Two. New Town: August 1992-Nov. 1992 (Pp. 4-7)**
3. **Group Three. Sepe: January 1992-August 1993 (Pp. 8-27)**
4. **Summary Sheet**
 1. **Okanta**
 2. **New Town**
 3. **Sepe**
5. **COP Statement of Policy on the Prayer Camps**

(Data collated from the records of Okanta, New Town and Sepe Prayer Camps)

DATA COLLECTED AT PRAYER CAMPS

GROUP ONE (OKANTA, SUHUM)

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
June	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	8
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	2
		- Emotional	1
		- General	42
		Child Birth	14
		Marital	54
		Financial/Economic	65
		Employment	19
		Travel	
		- Economic	1
		- Educational	0
		- General	18
		Protection/Security	20
		Family Needs	33
		Demons/Witchcraft	20
		Educational/Exam Results	6
		Legal	7
		Spiritual Upliftment	13
		Drunkness	4
		Social	3
		Accommodation	2
		Bad Dreams	1

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MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
July	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	8
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	0
		- Emotional	0
		- General	34
		Child Birth	14
		Marital	36
		Financial/Economic	55
		Employment	10
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	1
		- General	10
		Protection/Security	16
		Family Needs	20
		Demons/Witchcraft	14
		Educational/Exam Results	5
		Legal	6
		Spiritual Upliftment	19
		Drunkness	12
		Social	14
		Accommodation	2
		Bad Dreams	1

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
August	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	5
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	2
		- Emotional	0
		- General	26
		Child Birth	20
		Marital	32
		Financial/Economic	49
		Employment	9
		Travel	
		- Economic	2
		- Educational	0
		- General	14
		Protection/Security	19
		Family Needs	17
		Demons/Witchcraft	19
		Educational/Exam Results	8
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	15
		Drunkness	3
		Social	6
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	2

GROUP TWO (SUHUM NEW TOWN)

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
August	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	1
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	0
		- Emotional	0
		- General	7
		Child Birth	5
		Marital	13
		Financial/Economic	19
		Employment	2
		Travel	
		- Economic	2
		- Educational	0
		- General	7
		Protection/Security	8
		Family Needs	14
		Demons/Witchcraft	6
		Educational/Exam Results	1
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	3
		Drunkness	1
		Social	2
		Accommodation	2
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
September	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	9
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	0
		- Emotional	3
		- General	51
		Child Birth	14
		Marital	57
		Financial/Economic	57
		Employment	15
		Travel	
		- Economic	1
		- Educational	1
		- General	22
		Protection/Security	36
		Family Needs	38
		Demons/Witchcraft	39
		Educational/Exam Results	21
		Legal	1
		Spiritual Upliftment	29
		Drunkness	6
		Social	8
		Accommodation	3
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
October	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	8
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	0
		- Emotional	0
		- General	38
		Child Birth	5
		Marital	42
		Financial/Economic	58
		Employment	16
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	15
		Protection/Security	25
		Family Needs	34
		Demons/Witchcraft	22
		Educational/Exam Results	9
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	23
		Drunkness	2
		Social	2
		Accommodation	2
		Bad Dreams	1

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
November	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	2
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	0
		- General	53
		Child Birth	18
		Marital	56
		Financial/Economic	84
		Employment	22
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	17
		Protection/Security	27
		Family Needs	50
		Demons/Witchcraft	16
		Educational/Exam Results	16
		Legal	1
		Spiritual Upliftment	32
		Drunkness	3
		Social	4
		Accommodation	2
		Bad Dreams	1

GROUP THREE (SEPE, KUMASI)

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
January	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	8
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	0
		- Emotional	0
		- General	11
		Child Birth	0
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	1
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
February	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	20
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	3
		- Emotional	0
		- General	31
		Child Birth	0
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	8
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	3

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
March	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	10
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	2
		- Emotional	0
		- General	24
		Child Birth	3
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	16
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
April	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	8
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	0
		- General	15
		Child Birth	1
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	7
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	1
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
May	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	8
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	0
		- Emotional	0
		- General	32
		Child Birth	1
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	13
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	2
		Social	1
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	1

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
June	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	13
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	1
		- General	20
		Child Birth	0
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	6
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	2
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
July	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	10
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	0
		- General	14
		Child Birth	1
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	4
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	1
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	1

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
August	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	12
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	0
		- General	23
		Child Birth	0
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	5
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
September	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	7
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	0
		- General	17
		Child Birth	1
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	9
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
October	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	13
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	0
		- General	17
		Child Birth	2
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	17
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM	FREQUENCY
November	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	13
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	3
		- Emotional	1
		- General	13
		Child Birth	2
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	13
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	1
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	1

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
December	1992	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	14
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	0
		- General	16
		Child Birth	1
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	7
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
January	1993	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	15
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	3
		- Emotional	0
		- General	16
		Child Birth	1
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	7
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	3
		Social	2
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	2

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
February	1993	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	12
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	1
		- General	15
		Child Birth	0
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	2
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	1
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	1

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
March	1993	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	14
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	0
		- General	11
		Child Birth	0
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	4
		Educational/Exam Results	1
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	2
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
April	1993	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	15
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	0
		- General	12
		Child Birth	0
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	3
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	2
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
May	1993	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	15
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	0
		- Emotional	0
		- General	15
		Child Birth	1
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	5
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	1
		Social	2
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
June	1993	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	9
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	0
		- Emotional	0
		- General	24
		Child Birth	0
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	9
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
July	1993	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	16
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
		- Emotional	1
		- General	17
		Child Birth	0
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	4
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

MONTH	YEAR	PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
August	1993	Health	
		- Mental Disorder	4
		- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	0
		- Emotional	0
		- General	2
		Child Birth	0
		Marital	0
		Financial/Economic	0
		Employment	0
		Travel	
		- Economic	0
		- Educational	0
		- General	0
		Protection/Security	0
		Family Needs	0
		Demons/Witchcraft	0
		Educational/Exam Results	0
		Legal	0
		Spiritual Upliftment	0
		Drunkness	0
		Social	0
		Accommodation	0
		Bad Dreams	0

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DATA COLLECTED AT PRAYER CAMPS

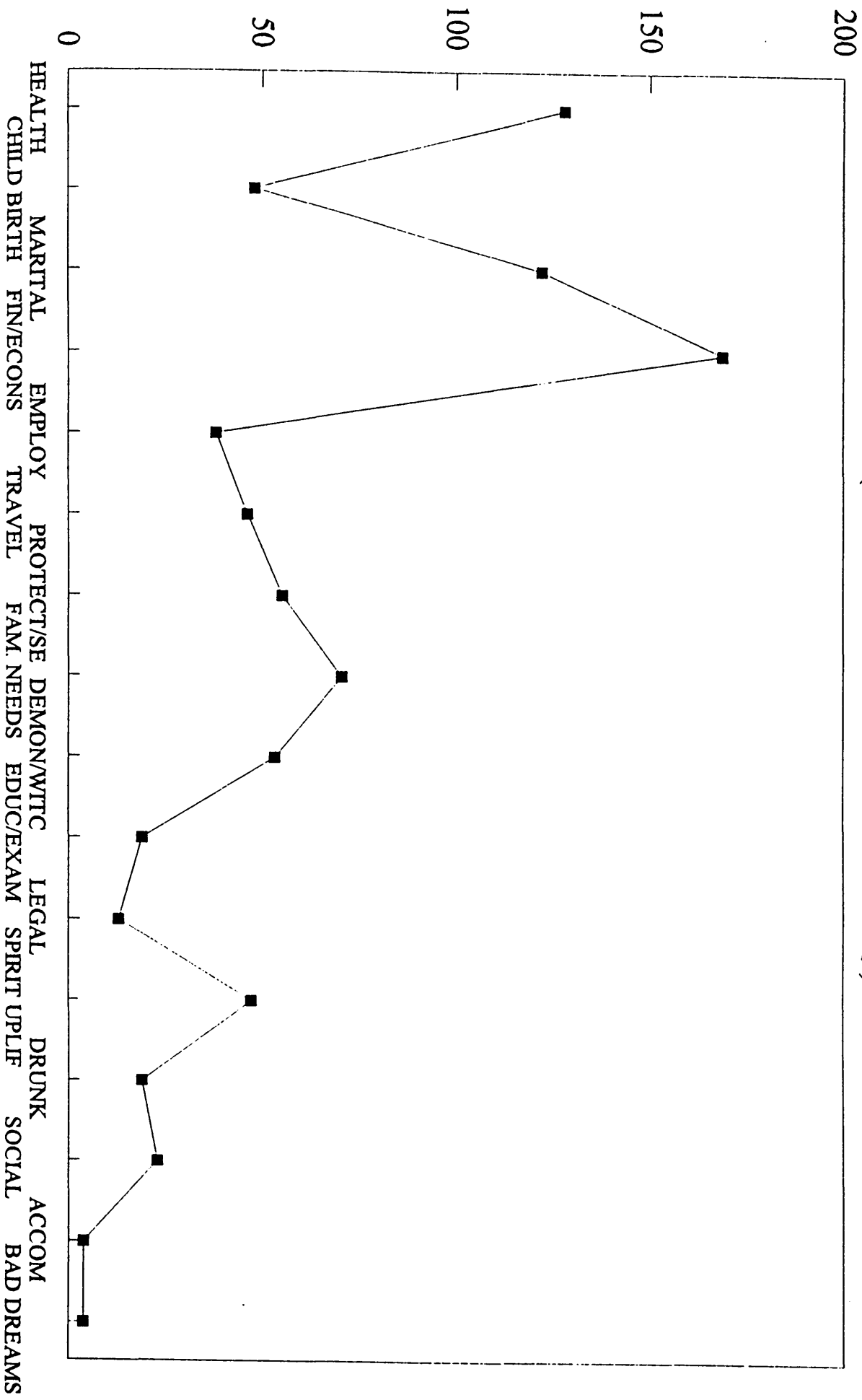
SUMMARY OF PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED PRAYER CAMPS AND THEIR NEEDS

GROUP ONE (OKANTA, SUHUM)

PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
Health	
- Mental Disorder	21
- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	4
- Emotional	1
- General	102
Child Birth	48
Marital	122
Financial/Economic	169
Employment	38
Travel	
- Economic	3
- Educational	1
- General	42
Protection/Security	55
Family Needs	70
Demons/Witchcraft	53
Educational/Exam Results	19
Legal	13
Spiritual Upliftment	47
Drunkness	19
Social	23
Accommodation	4
Bad Dreams	4
TOTAL	858

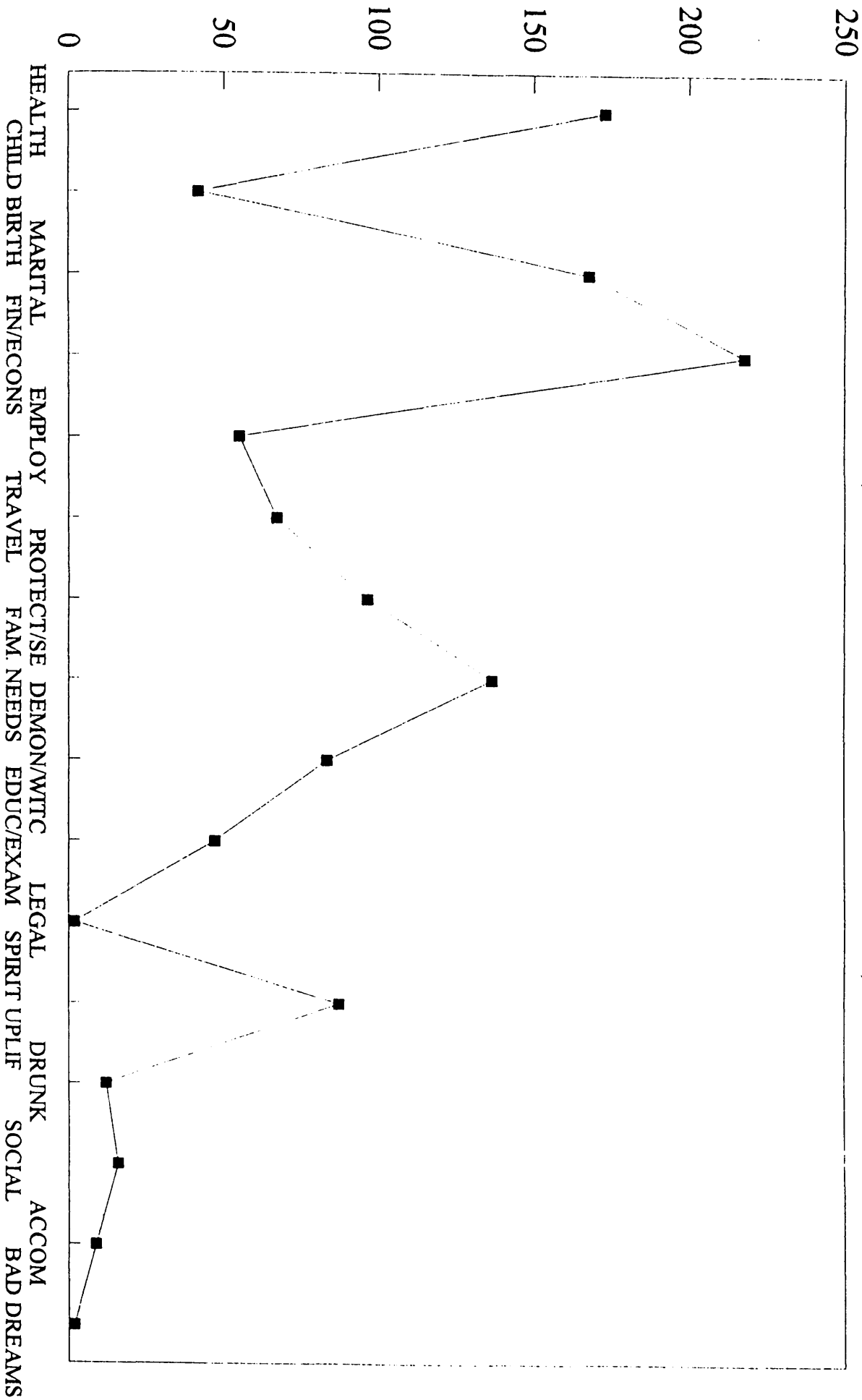
OKANTA PRAYER CAMP -- SUHUM

(FROM JUN 1992 TO AUGUST 1992)



SUHUM NEW TOWN PRAYER CAMP

(FROM Aug 1992 TO Nov 1992)



GROUP TWO (SUHUM NEW TOWN)

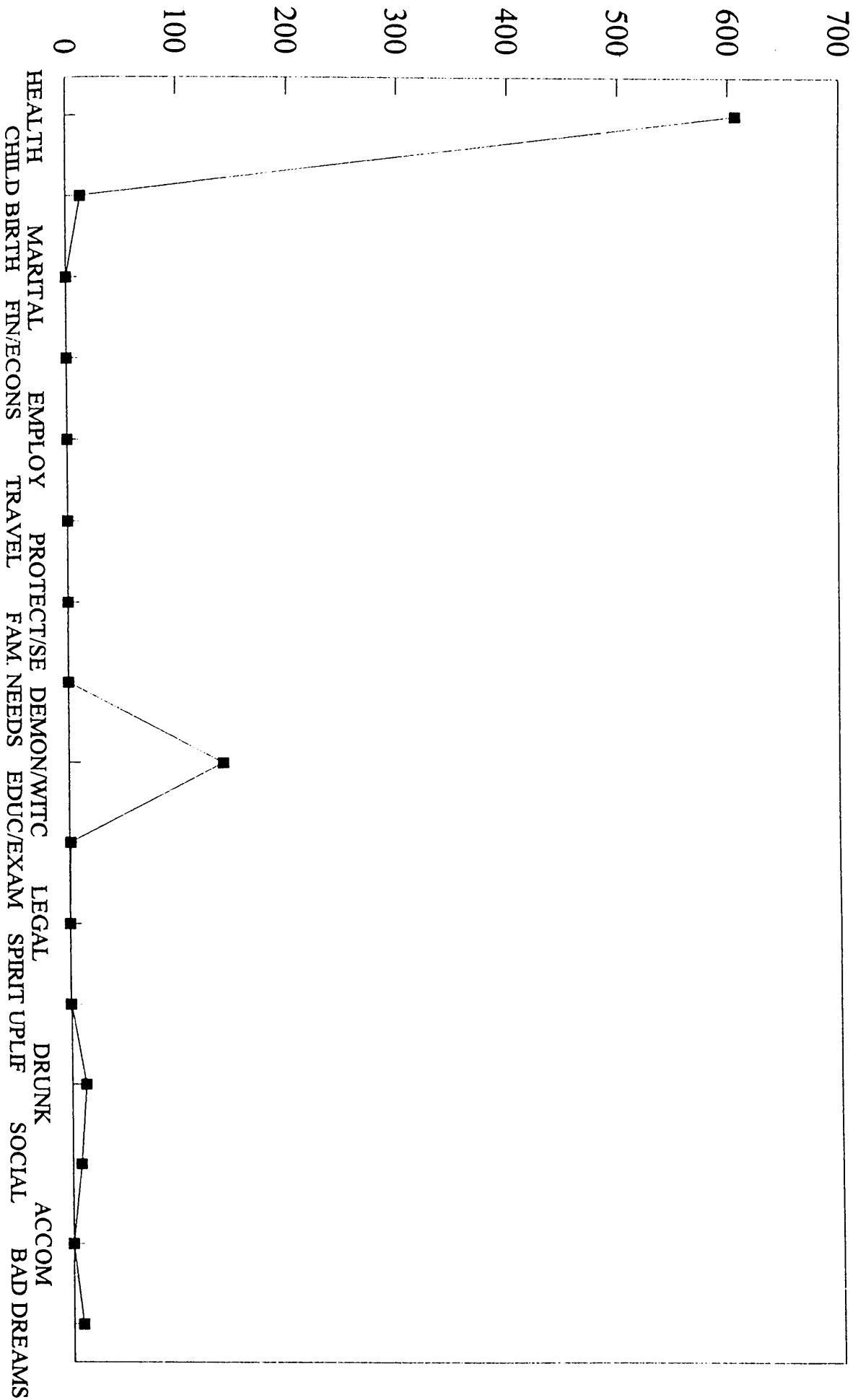
PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
Health	
- Mental Disorder	20
- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	1
- Emotional	3
- General	149
Child Birth	42
Marital	168
Financial/Economic	218
Employment	55
Travel	
- Economic	3
- Educational	1
- General	63
Protection/Security	96
Family Needs	136
Demons/Witchcraft	83
Educational/Exam Results	47
Legal	2
Spiritual Upliftment	87
Drunkness	12
Social	16
Accommodation	9
Bad Dreams	2
TOTAL	1213

GROUP THREE (SEPE, KUMASI)

PROBLEM AREA	FREQUENCY
Health	
- Mental Disorder	236
- Dumb, Deaf, Blindness	22
- Emotional	4
- General	345
Child Birth	14
Marital	0
Financial/Economic	0
Employment	0
Travel	
- Economic	0
- Educational	0
- General	0
Protection/Security	0
Family Needs	0
Demons/Witchcraft	140
Educational/Exam Results	1
Legal	0
Spiritual Upliftment	0
Drunkness	13
Social	8
Accommodation	0
Bad Dreams	9
TOTAL	792

SEPE PRAYER CAMP - KUMASI

(FROM JAN 1992 TO AUGUST 1993)



APPENDIX J(a)
COP Statement of Policy on Prayer Camps

This document reflects the current official position of COP on the Prayer Camps

PRAYER CAMPS

A. Relationship to the Church

1. Prayer Camps are accepted in the Church, mostly led by Ordained Officers of the Church.
2. Regional/Area Heads to send Ministers to officially minister at these Camps.

NB: The Camp Leader and Team of Assistants to be met by a high powered delegation to remind them that it is not just to programme ministers but to lead and to control.

3. Camp Leaders must attend all Church meetings including Conventions and Rallies in their respective offices (i.e. Elder, Deacon, Deaconess, etc.)
4. Will be permitted to use their gifts when/where necessary at Church gatherings.
5. The use of Titles like Prophets, etc. is to be discouraged, just maintain Elder, Deaconess, etc.

B. Pattern

1. Normal Pentecostal Service and practices.
2. Registration at the Camps should be without fees.
3. Attendants must sign in and out.
4. They should indicate whether healed, etc.
5. Normal dressing, not white or red gowns or gowns and bands.
6. No removal of sandals, etc.
7. should abide by Executive Decisions issued on 15th April, 1992 for taking offering at Church Services.
8. There are two types of Prayer Camps: Residential and non-residential (usually held in chapels).

C. Doctrine

1. Healing must be Biblical
2. No blessing of water, no use of candles, etc.
3. Biblical teaching and instruction on fasting and prayers should be maintained.
4. No sale of medicine attached to the prayers. e.g. Nyame Ahyiraso.

5. *Spiritist beliefs attached to these medicines to be discouraged.*
6. *Medical cases should be referred to Practitioners where necessary.*

D. Government

1. *There should be a management Committee with the District Pastor as Chairman and the Regional Head, Ex-Officio member.*
2. *Regular meetings of this Committee to be held as regards the welfare of the Camp.*
3. *Termly, regular reports to be submitted by the Committee to the Regional/Area Head.*
4. *Mushroom Camps springing up are to be discouraged; members with healing gifts should operate within the Church.*
5. *No one should start a Prayer Camp without the prior knowledge of the District Pastor and the Regional Head.*

E. Environment

1. *Proper accommodation.*
2. *Good Sanitation, Place of Convenience, Environmental cleanliness.*
3. *Good Drinking Water and Food where needed.*
4. *Without these facilities the Camp must be closed as Residential Camps. Only Prayer meetings will be allowed.*

F. Control and Accountability

1. *Books for recording accounts must be kept and made available for inspection.*
2. *A Finance Committee to streamline Income and Expenditure at each camp. Normal Church service proceeds, Tithes and Missionary offering should go to the appropriate quarters.*
3. *Personal gifts to Camp Leaders are to be excluded from item 2.*
4. *Statements of Account are to be attached to termly reports.*
5. *The Regional and or District Executive are to visit the Camp to make sure that it is conforming to our pattern of worship, doctrine, and discipline.*
6. *The Region is to assist financially when and where necessary with projects at the Camp.*
7. *On no account should a camp that operates in the name of the Church be considered a personal possession.*

8. *With respect to property owned by Prayer Camps attempt should be made to streamline the legal implications. Every effort must be made to persuade new camps to acquire property (especially land) in the name of the Church.*
9. *Henceforth, all qualities required of an officer according to 1 Timothy 3:1-7 should be found in any onw who aspires to become a Prayer Camp Leader.*
10. *Any person who travels from one Region or District to open a Prayer Camp in another must have proper recommendation from his/her former station.*

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. *The need for putting up Prayer Charlets may assist in providing rest and Prayer Centres for Church Officers and others who need to wait upon the Lord.*
2. *Teaching of Biblical Methods of Healing and Seminars for the leaders e.g. Prayer of faith, the exercise of power and the instruction of gifts, James 5:13-18, taking seriously where the authority of the Believer and then the Presbytery or Eldership.*
3. *The Church must encourage Friday Prayer Meetings where gifts will be allowed to operate under control.*

APPENDIX K

TEACHINGS GIVEN TO THE GOLD COAST CHRIST APOSTOLIC
CHURCH ASSEMBLIES AT NSAWAM, JUNE 18 AND 19 1954

The teachings in this document contrast sharply with the official position. It is not clear who gave them. The document seems to have come from a radical reformer or a dissenter. There is no indication as to the reaction of the traditionalists. This document *inter alia*, enables us to determine the feelings of some of the leadership on some of the belief and practices of the movement at that time.

Source: Copied from the archives of the Christ Apostolic Church by the permission of the present chairman, Apostle S.K. Asare.

-: PART I. :-

SEPARATION:

POSITION AND DIFFERENTIATION:

CONTESTING FOR GREATNESS:

PAY OF MINISTERS:

VARIOUS MEETINGS:

PROPHET HAS NO PAY:

A prophet (who is not a minister or Worker) and who cannot teach or preach, is not to receive pay or subsistence. If he does, his gift will wane and his prophecies will be false deceiving the Assemblies. As such, if a prophet gets a message for another Assembly, his transport and subsistence (chop money) should be paid (or refunded). Likewise, when he is required in any meeting necessitating travelling. Ministers are to test the work of every Prophet or Prophetess, so that he may not mislead any Assembly with false prophecies. If any Prophet refuses to give out a prophecy or revelations because he is not paid, the rod of the Lord will be upon him. Rigid prayers should often be said for all Prophets so that satan may not get the chance of working in the Assemblies through them. Deut. 18:18-22. Prophets should pray often and shun themselves from worldly amusements and conversations. Ezek. 14:9; 13:2-10; Hosea 9:7; Mic. 3:9-12; Jer. 23.

7. BI-MONTHLY FASTING PRAYER:

Pastors, Evangelists, Workers and Elders (including Deacons) should unite and hold fasting-prayer. In this meeting, they should ask power of Jesus to heal and raise the dead. They should start the prayer with asking forgiveness of sins for themselves and all Assemblies and the glory of the Lord will shine on them. During this meeting, they should do everything with love and unity to please the Lord. Elderly women are included in this meeting. This fasting-prayer meeting should last three days. They should be careful not to secretly hide and taste any food and thereby bring the benefit of the meeting to naught. No one should do any work. During the meeting, no one should go out for any conversation. We are to wait on the Lord till His Grace will be manifested during the meeting. This meeting is to be held two-monthly.

8. ASSEMBLY MONTHLY 3-DAY FASTING PRAYER:

Each month, every Assembly is to enter into three days fasting-prayer to revive themselves and hear the voice of the Lord. In so doing, the Spirit will lead us and satan will not have the chance to cheat us.

9. TRUE SPIRIT OF PROPHECY:

We should often pray, asking the Lord to let His true spirit of prophecy lead His Prophets and Prophetesses.

10. THE NECESSARY FESTIVAL:

Feast of Tabernacles (see Lev. 23:33-44) should be observed yearly by all saints. Verse 41 says, it should be observed for ever in all generations. When this period approaches, all Assemblies shall be informed to prepare. In this case all saints shall meet at one place with one accord and wait with one accord.

11. UNNECESSARY FESTIVALS THAT WE ARE TO ABHOR:

We are to abhor all festivals of babylonian, heathenish or Roman origin such as: Christmas, Good Friday, Lent, Ascension etc. The Lord had not sanctioned them and are not biblical.

12. DISCERNMENT IN PROPHECY:

No one should judge prophecies and revelations, except such person who has gift of discernment. Therefore all Ministers (Pastors, Evangelists, Workers and Elders (including Deacons) should pray hard that the Lord may endue them with this gift to be able to judge all Prophecies and Revelations.

13. FEET WASHING:

This should be done, but among Pastors and deserving Elders and Deacons only. Not all the congregation. If any of them is suffering from any contagious disease he should be excluded, because then he is not clean before the Lord.

14. BYE-LAWS AND REGULATIONS:

We are to eschew all man-made laws, regulations, etc. as in other churches except that which is backed by the scriptures. Such things are fleshly holiness and encourage pride but does not promote the Church spiritually. Mark 7:7. This is a saying of Jesus to the Pharisees as recorded in Matt. 23:27. Christ's principles of Faith only leads men to salvation. This is the precept God through our Lord Jesus requires us to conform Gal. 5:22-25. According to Paul, we are not to kotow to commandments and doctrines of men Col. 2:18-23; Phil. 3:8-12; Acts 16:4; 15:23-29. None of these can save a Christian except faith.

15. ONENESS OF THE BODY OF CHRIST:

It is necessary that we love all Christendom and be one with them and teach them in the TRUTH. We should with intercessory prayer intercede for them to remove the veil that has covered their spiritual mind that the Lord may put them on the path of TRUTH. If we do this and they do not give heed, we have done our part, because all mankind will not be in the Faith before the glory of the Lord will dawn in unity and love. John 15:7,8 ; 17:20-23.

16. TITLES AND POSITIONS:

No minister should pile upon himself titles and create for himself, position. He is not to call himself an Apostle, this is confirmed or testified by the Holy Ghost - 2Cor. 12:12. Ordination of Pastors, Deacons and laying on of hands will be by the leading of the Holy Ghost.

17. THE NECESSITY FOR ALL SAINTS TO KNOW BIBLICAL TEACHINGS:

It is necessary that all saints study and know biblical teachings so that they may be able to teach others. Ministers should not make long sermons but rather they may encourage all saints (male and female, youths and maiden) to study the scriptures and be able to teach and make short sermons (or sermonets). They should know the will of the Lord and His dislikes. This is the Lord's work. Because the major part of the Lord's work when on earth was teachings as could be seen in the Gospels, see Matt. 5-7 ; John 6:45.

18. HOUSE TO HOUSE AND TOWN TO TOWN TEACHING AND PREACHING:

Saints ought to go out from house to house and from town to town, teaching and preaching the Gospel of Grace as the disciples did - Matt. 28:18-20 ; Acts 20:20 ; 5:42. That is how Paul also worked among the gentiles.

19. UNITY AND LOVE:

We are to live in unity and love in our Lord Jesus. This is the good way. Dissensions in the Church (Body of Christ) should not be. This brings hatred and enmity. Because in this wise, every body wishes only the goodness of the Church which he/she belongs and so is always jealous. This is not the will of God. This is downward trend of faith - 1John 1:6,7. If a sect or person will not take the Truth of Christ, judge him not for you are not a judge. Near him rather and teach him the Truth plainly. If he rejects it pray for him as Paul did. Rom. 10:1-4. This will be a big blessing.

20. BOASTING IS NOT PLEASING TO GOD:

When we are giving our offering in our meeting, before the congregation, it is neither meet nor necessary to mention the amount because your vow was between you and your God. That is vain glory. God knows what you are bringing to Him and you are not doing it for man. Why do you want man to know what you are giving to God? Was your vow not secret? Do you want man to praise you? The Lord says don't let a brother know what you are doing for a brother. Even wife or husband should not know, and if it is so why do we want man to know the amount we are paying according to our vow? Matt. 6:1-4. So put thy offering into the offering-box and praise Him in the midst of the congregation. If not, you have already received praise of men but not with God, you gain nothing.

21. KINDNESS AND MERCIFULNESS:

We are to always exhibit love and mercifuness in our living, that is through gifts, hospitality, to clothe the naked and do good. Through this, the Lord shall recompense each person according to his works, and to glorify him. "For he shall have judgement without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy; and mercy rejoiceth against judgement. James 2:13; Matt. 25:31-36.

22. RIGHTEOUSNESS IS NECESSARY:

As the power of God comes through chastity and holiness, it is expedient that anybody who wants to manifest the power of God extricate himself from filth and sin, to walk justly, be humble and to know prayers and fasting; when Light had entered into our hearts and filled with the Holy Ghost, then and there the glory of God will be manifest in us; because then the Word of God which is Life, Light and Power had entered into our body and our heart, for power comes from the Word. Christ is the Word and the Word is in you. Jesus said, the works that I do, not I, but God that liveth in me. It is expedient that Jesus should live in us so that through His Word, we shall be able to heal and raise the dead as some are doing now.

23. WE ARE TO SHUN ALL WORKS OF THE FLESH:

St. Paul tells us explicitly that the glorious power of our Lord Jesus Christ will not be manifest in us except we cast the sinful nature and its works from us. Because our bodies are the temples of God wherein is to dwell the Holy Spirit. But satan is reigning there with his works of lies, fornication, hatred, division, vexation, pride etc. We ought to cast from the heart such things to enable the glorious power of God to dwell in us before we will be able to do the work. This is the major part of the gospel as St. Paul teaches us in 2Thes. 2:4-12.

24. EACH ASSEMBLY IS TO GOVERN HERSELF:

Now, again, each Assembly governs herself and not under another Assembly. We have no headquarters anywhere on this earth plane but our headquarters is in heavens, where Jesus reigns. Asamankese is not our headquarters as it was before. We are not to look elsewhere as our headquarters. Each Assembly may seek help from heaven. Jesus is our High Priest. Our Treasury is one, to enforce love and unity.

25. OUR PAY IS NOT WITH ANY MAN, BUT WITH GOD:

This new way (method) will not allow Pastors and Workers put any burden on the Assemblies that they are owing us arrears, because the Assemblies have not hired us. Pastors, Evangelists and Workers are joint labourers of our Lord in His vineyard. The tithes and offerings are our subsistence but not pay. The Workers are to divide it themselves, whether it comes in great quantity or small. Our pay is with the Lord.

26. TEACHINGS ABOUT THE HOLY SPIRIT:

Within all the Assemblies, constant teachings should be given about the Holy Ghost.

27. CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH ELDERS AND DEACONS ARE CHOSEN:

The qualifications are:- (a) A fit person; (b) one who knows biblical teachings; (c) who is baptized with the Holy Spirit; (d) blameless; (e) and one who is not a novice.

Each Assembly should select from among the Elders, such person, who will be anointed to administer the Lord's Supper, baptize and watch the sheep well not with force but with love.

28. CONFIDENCE IN GOD:

Having left the Church (and entered into (non-sectarianism) we have taken further step and we have advanced spiritually. As such we are not to teach anywhere that anywhere that if a man applies medicine in time of sickness he/she will not go to heaven. This is not true. We are not judges in this case, Rom. 14:1-4. This teaching drives away, but does not win souls. This has nothing to do with Salvation. Salvation comes through Faith and Grace, through our Lord Jesus Christ. But all saints are exhorted that any believer who trusts Jesus only in time of sickness, Poverty and Tribulation has reached the highest pinnacle. We should all aim at this.

8. CONT'D.

Such person would not only be saved, but he/she would be glorified when he/she gets to heaven. Now listen, if "A" goes to doctor in time of sickness and "B" also goes to a rich man in time of poverty to raise loan, both are weak in faith and have not entirely trusted God. Rom. 13:8.

PART II.

No one should boast that he/she is baptized with the Holy Ghost and God speaks through him, so he/she is better than the other. If one is baptized with the Holy Ghost he/she is to be just, and speak in righteous way so that he/she may not grieve the Holy Spirit. They should meet once in a month for one-day fasting-prayer to learn teachings about the Holy Ghost, ask for forgiveness of sins and pray for our wants (chiefly concerning gifts and fruits of the spirit). During the meeting we should pray well and hard to get the spiritual power for healing and to frustrate the works of satan.

If we do not strive at this (fortifying ourselves in prayer) satan weakens us, quenches our spiritual fire, robs us of faith and lastly we will not hear the voice of God.

We are to note that the spirit's knowledge and wisdom is more than that of worldly healers (doctors).

On this new path, the works of the Holy Spirit shall let us surpass the churches; because we shall often hear the voice of God during our unity meetings.

We should live a new life, to leave the flesh and enter into the spirit. We are not to use the spirit as cover-cloth, putting it on when we are going to chapel and put it down when we return. Know that when you are a Minister or Worker, you are to repent, change and become a new creature, so that the Holy Spirit may be able to work in you and through you. Your righteous life will enable you to glorify God in your body and thereby attain the heavenly call - Matt. 5:20.

*NOTE: Before any saint enter into the Ministry: As a Pastor, Evangelist, Worker or Elder (deacon), he should first be baptized with the Holy Ghost. If one is not just signs, miracles and power will not follow. The mere having the baptism of the Holy Spirit is not licence for you to exhibit signs, miracles and power except you lead a clean life and permit the Lord to live within you. We should struggle in this way and run a race before the gifts could become manifest in us.

Any planted or grafted tree will not grow except it is healthy before it could bear fruit; if it is dis-eased, it will not bear fruit. This is the same with saints. If you are baptized with the spirit, you are like a planted tree, if you are not attacked with any disease (sin) you will grow in spirit and bear much fruit. Signs, Miracles and Heavenly Power manifest the glory of God for those behind (gentiles and unbelievers) to see. Saints or Believers should be aware not to open any channel or avenue to enable satan to get a chance. Each soul should crucify the flesh and its several lusts, so that Christ may shine. By Grace the Holy Spirit have been granted us, but the Lord is looking forward to those who will strive to be filled through righteousness and humility before He will manifest His gifts through them. These are the teachings that the saints should know.

PART III.

PROPHECY RECEIVED THROUGH A SISTER DURING THE MEETING AT NSAWAM ON THE 18TH JUNE, 1954.

Thus saith the Lord: I am the Creator of heavens and earth and all they contain. I created animals also; some are big and

some are small. I created man in my likeness. That is why I put my spirit in man. Really, I created man from earth but he became man through my spirit (life) that I put in him.

After the creation of man on this earth, satan made man to lose the spirit of God and there was no life in him again. This is the reason why Jesus came to give man everlasting life again. God spoke before He created man. So the Word of God became living soul. For this reason, if God speaks to us and we do not take His word, how can LIFE be perfect in us? The Lord wishes us to listen to His word and with that we can do His work.

We cannot accomplish anything successfully without the word of God. We heal and raise the dead with the word of God. The worldly people also kill through the word of evil spirits (and demons). Don't you see so with me? Why has the merciful God through grace has called us and we do not want to take His word? Shall we hear Him now?

Our prayers and all we do come to nought. Don't you know that with grief Pastor Yeboah travelled to Eastern Nigeria to seek for the Word of Life?

Did he bring something tied, placed in a pan, poured water on it, that we should bath and get power for healing? Or did he come with the same Word of God which we hear here daily? If it is so, we are to think on how the Word of God is not so efficacious among us here. This is the work we are going to do today.

The main topic is therefore on humility. Jesus who is mighty, humbled Himself for His Father, obeyed His Word and Life in it. For Life sake He was crucified, died and resurrected. We came here to seek His humility so that when we die we will be able to resurrect. I therefore implore each soul to listen with humility, to today's teachings, so that you may be filled with life; so that if one tries to heal or raise the dead in the Name of Jesus, it may be successful.

If a disciple or minister of Jesus cannot heal and raise the dead, it is a disgraceful. Jesus has the might to do all, but to exhibit humility for us to learn, He humbled Himself and firstly begged God before He started every enterprise. He listened to the Word of the Father and had life therein. The spirit that Jesus had from above, satan was unable to thwart it and it was with this mighty spirit that He worked on earth.

We people in this world are surrounded by satan and if we do not implore the fiery spirit from above, we of ourselves cannot do anything. Before, satan has poured his spirit upon anything in this world: water, food, clothing etc. If we say we are happy and are going to take breeze, satan is there. Whilst satan is within you and around you, can you of yourself accomplish anything successfully? That is why our service opening-song reads: "THE LORD IS IN HIS HOLY TEMPLE, LET ALL THE EARTH BE SILENT BEFORE HIM". The word earth mentioned above relates to Man. Before the Lord will do something in the Temple, except Man listens to the Word and be silent.

Man ought therefore to be silent so that God may enter into the temple which is the heart. There the Lord will give you Wisdom, Knowledge, Discernment, and the Word with which you can over-come everything.

If we assemble and call on a heathen to come and preach to us, what will he have to say? Since he is of the world and no word of God is in him, he will not have any word of God to tell us. As you are gathered here, you all may open your hearts that the Lord may talk with us.

If the Lord enters into our hearts and pours therein His words, then we shall be able to raise the dead and heal all sicknesses and infirmities. What are we doing, I mean Ministers and Workers? Is it not that we should raise the dead, heal the sick and lose those bound and oppressed? Is this not the work of Jesus? Jesus came to the world to do this, and this is the work of God.

Why don't you listen to the Word of Jesus which has power, with humility so tha you can do the work? Rather, you are filled with pride, worldly wisdom and knowledge and money-mindedness and as such you are rather leading Jesus instead of Him to lead. What have I done for you? Did I not bring you life? Did I not die for you? Have you been able to compensate? Why are you doing my work with money-mindedness, pride and hardened-hearts? If you will do my work with love, I have arranged your pay, clothing and food among the gentiles: they are bringing all these, and in the end you will get the heavenly kingdom and heavenly payment.

As we are gathered here no one should think about salary (payment). Go out and do my work.

All the previous teachings read to you by Pastor Yeboah have all scriptural texts in the Bible confirming same. It should be read again word for word so that you may pray on each item asking for forgiveness of sins:-

1Cor. 3:1-7 ; John 14:26 ; Acts 20:28 ; Matt. 23:8-11 ; Deut. 18:18-22 ; Ezek. 14:9-11 ; 13:2-10 ; Hosea 9:7 ; Mic. 3:9-12 ; Jer. 23. ; Acts 4:32 ; Col. 2:18-23 ; Phil. 3:8-12 ; Acts. 16:4 ; 15:23-29 ; John 17:20-23 ; 2Cor. 12:12 ; John 6:45 ; Matt. 28:18-20 ; Acts 20:20 ; 5:42 ; 1John 2:10,11 ; 1John 1:6,7 ; Rom. 10:1-4 ; Matt. 6:1-4 ; Matt. 25:31-46 ; Mic. 6:8 ; James 4:1-7 ; Matt. 6:33 ; 1Pet. 5:1-5.

Each saint should pray with spirit of repentance and humility in so doing you will feel the presence of God.

Obedience, Humility and Understanding is the proper way of finding the Lord's PATH and that is the POWER and LIFE.

- A M E N -

REASONS FOR LEAVINIG OUR CHURCH.

1. Because the church of God is no sect (1Tim.3:14,15).
2. Because sectism is not and never was the Church of God. (Matt. 16:18 ; 1Cor. 3:11 ; 1Cor. 14:33).
3. Because Christ is not the head of any sect (Eph. 1:22,23 ; Col. 1:18) and does not open the door of a sect (Rev. 3:7,8 ; Isa. 22).
4. Because the Holy Spirit does not baptize into a sect.(1Cor.12:13)
5. Because we are forbidden to follow the doctrines of men. (Col. 2:8 ; Matt. 15:8,9).
6. Because one cannot obey all the NEW TESTAMENT and yet be subject to a sect (Matt. 6:24)
7. Because we must be one (1Cor. 1:10 ; John 17:21).
8. Because sects divide God's people (2Pet. 2:1-3; Roma 16:17,18)
9. Because all manner of sin has crept into sectism, and God says she is fallen. (Rev. 18:2)
10. Because we are forbidden to knowingly fellowship sinners (Eph. 5:11 ; 1Cor 10:20).
11. Because if we have to join a sect to get its fellowship, we have to fellowship everyone who is joined to it. (1Cor.6:15-20).

12. Because no sect accepts all the word of God, but adds to and subtracts from it. (Matt. 28:20 ; Rev. 22:18,19)
13. Because every sect is born of strife (James 4:1 ; 1Cor. 3:3)
See the history of all Christian sects by John Evans).
14. Because preachers of all sects are most all hirelings (John 10:12 ; Ezek. 34:3 ; Isa. 56:10,11).
15. Because a sect is not a home or fold as some say. (John 10:16; Eph. 2:16).
16. Because the world and sectism are going hand in hand in price, revellings, and all worldliness. (2Tim. 3:1-5).
17. Because God is searching his sheep and seeking them out (Ezek. 34:11,12 ; Mark 13:27 ; Jer. 15:19).
18. Because we are to withdraw from every brother that walketh disorderly (2Thess. 3:6).
19. Because the maze of sectarianism of today constitutes the Mystery Babylon of Rev. 18:5.
20. Because God says: "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins". (Rev. 18:4 ; Jer. 51:6 ; 2Cor. 6:17).
21. Because God would have healed Babylon; but she is not healed. Jer. 51:9.

who gave them

APPENDIX L

A declaration by Lawson's organisation sent to Rev David J. du Plessis about the cessation of the blessing of water for healing purposes. The organisation put an end to this practice because of its abuse by some members.

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DECLARATION

We, the undersigned hereby declare:-

1. That we were at Tema in January 1958 when the question of the "blessed water" was raised.
2. That the decision was that there would not be any more "blessing of water" in order that some people would not use it as a means of bringing God's work into disrepute.
3. That from that very day the "blessing of water" was stopped in this Temple
and
4. That at no other time, since this decision was taken at Tema, has water been blessed, much more for it to be sold, to anybody by The Lord Is Here Temple.

Dated at Korle Gonno this ^{26th}..... day of December 1958.

.....
(Brother F.K. Addo)

.....
(Sister Comfort Lawson)

.....
(Sister Victoria Tackie)

Regn. No. <u>6835</u>	Certificate of Posting of a Registered Postal Packet	<u>£1.17/-</u>
A Postal Packet addressed as under, upon which a Fee of Sixpence has been paid, in addition to the postage, has been registered and posted here this day:-		
David J. du Plessis Box 8615 Dallas		Date Stamp * 27 DEC 58 GHANA
Postmaster's Signature (or initials) <u>[Signature]</u>		
TAX/GPD/641/2,000bks./150d./12-57 P. & T. Form 153		

"BLESSED WATER"

What we have seen, heard and known,
regarding the "blessed water" is what we hereby
declare as below :-

With effect from January 1958 when the
"blessing of water" was put stop to in the Lord is
There Temple, not one of the brethren as well as
Brother Lawson has ever "blessed water" for anyone
under God's sky.

We solemnly make this Declaration with the
fear of God and in the Holy Name of Jesus Christ to
be a true and correct Declaration of what is actually
existing in the Lord is There Temple.

Dated at Korle Gomo this 26th day of December 1958.

.....
Brother P.T. Nartey
Senior Superintendent, Government
Prisons Department.

.....
Brother I.S. Nettey-Marbel
Proprietor, Standard Bookshop.

.....
Brother J.A. Aryeh
Supervisor, Cable & Wireless Ltd.

.....
Sister Jane Quarrey

.....
Sister Gladys Attram

.....
Brother A.D. Boye Juaye
Principal,
Saint Andrew's College,

APPENDIX M**ICGC MESSAGES, 1986-1993**

The list gives us an idea of the content of the kerygma of the International Central Gospel Church. The analysis of the messages indicates that the church's emphases are predominantly in the areas of *Human Development, Economic and Social Progress*.

INTERNATIONAL CENTRAL GOSPEL CHURCH
1986 SUNDAY CHURCH MESSAGES ON TAPES

CASS. NO.	DATE	TITLE	PREACHER
THE SPIRIT LIFE SERIES			
8603	19/1/86	Who is the Spirit	Rev. Mensa Otobil
8604	26/1/86	Spiritual Death	"
8607	16/2/86	The Mind of the Spirit or Revelation	"
8608	23/2/86	The Voice of the Spirit I	"
8609	2/3/86	The Voice of the Spirit II	"
8610	9/3/86	The Voice of the Spirit III	"
8612	23/3/86	The Law that regulates the Spirit	"
8614	6/4/86	Spiritual Growth I	"
8615	13/4/86	Spiritual Growth II	"
8616	20/4/86	The Fruit of the Spirit	"
8617	27/4/86	The Realm of the Spirit	"
8618	4/5/86	Thanksgiving	"

SUCCESS AND PROSPERITY SERIES

8619	11/5/86	Four Laws of Prosperity	Rev Mensa Otobil
8620	18/5/86	The Covenant of Prosperity	"
8621	25/5/86	Tithes and Offerings	"
8622	1/6/86	The Five Questions of Giving	"
8624	15/6/86	How to receive the seed sown	"
8625	22/6/86	Goal setting and Goal Getting	"
8626	29/6/86	Building an attitude of Success	"
8627	6/7/86	Tapping the wisdom of God	"
8628	13/7/86	Bountiful Eye	Rev Obeng-Darko
8629	20/7/86	Overcoming Your Fear	"
8630	27/7/86	Begin with the knowledge of God	"

KEYS TO SUCCESSFUL CHURCH GROWTH SERIES

8631	3/8/86	What the Church is	Rev. Mensa Otobil
8632	10/8/86	The Operation of the Body of Christ	"
8634	24/8/86	The three-fold ministry of the Believers	"
8636	7/9/86	The Home and Church Growth	"
8637	14/9/86	Three Foundation Stone for Church Growth	"
8638	21/9/86	Evangelism	"

BASIC CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE SERIES

8641	28/9/86	Repentance from Dead Works	Rev. Mensa Otobil
8642	19/10/86	The Lord's Table	"
8643	26/10/86	Laying on of Hands	"
8644	2/11/86	Resurrection of the Dead	"
8645	9/11/86	Eternal Judgement	"
8646	16/11/86	Seven Pillars of our Faith	Rev. Furgeson-Laing
8647	23/11/86	The Romantic Home	"
8648	30/12/86	Walking in Newness of Life I	Rev. Andrews Asare
8649	7/12/86	Walking in Newness of Life II	"
8650	14/12/86	The Feast of Unleavened Bread	Rev. Obeng-Darko

1986 CAMPMEETING THEME: RESTORATION

CM8601	27/12/86	The Supernatural Restoration	Rev Obeng-Darko
CM8602	27/12/86	Restoration of Spiritual Leadership	Rev. Mensa Otobil
CM8603	28/12/86	Let Everyman return unto his position	Rev. Edwin Donkor
CM8604	28/12/86	Nine Steps to tap the Supernatural	Rev. Charles Asare
CM8605	29/12/86	Power and Evangelism	Evan. Gracious Awoye
CM8606	29/12/86	Depending on the Supernatural Intelligence	Rev. Duncan Williams
CM8607	29/12/86	New Foundation	Rev. Mensa Otobil

CM8608	30/12/86	The Light and	Rev. Obeng-Darko
		Lightnings of God	
CM8609	30/12/86	The Supernatural	Rev Furgeson-Laing
		Church	

1987 THURSDAY TEACHING SERVICE MESSAGES

8701F	8/1/87	The need to Grow up Spiritually	Rev. Obeng-Darko
8702F	15/1/87	Two types of Believers you should not be	"
8703F	22/1/87	Taking Spiritual Initiative	"
8704F	5/2/87	The zealous Church I	"
8705F	12/2/87	The zealous Church II	"
8706F	19/2/87	Fulfilling the Law of Christ	"
8707F	5/3/87	Living the Love Life	"
8708F	12/3/87	Keeping the Devil off your Life	"
8709F	19/3/87	Having faith in Love	"
8710F	26/3/87	Covenant Relationship	"
8711F	2/4/87	There shall be a Performance	Rev Mensa Otabil
8712F	9/4/87	Obtaining the supply of the Spirit (Establishment of the house of the Lord I)	Rev Obeng-Darko
8713F	23/4/87	Monetary Aspect (Establishment of the house of the Lord II)	"
8714F	30/4/87	Believing in the Servants of God	"
8715F	7/5/87	A chat from the Pastor's heart	Rev Mensa Otabil
8716F	14/5/87	The Vision Part One	"
8717F	21/5/87	(The Vision Part Two) Break-up the Fallow ground	"
8718F	28/5/87	(The Vision Part Three) Eunuchs in the Palace of the King	"
8719F	4/6/87	The foxes that spoil the vine	Rev. Obeng-Darko
8720F	11/6/87	(The Vision Part Four) The Pattern	Rev Mensa Otabil
8721F	18/6/87	(The Vision Part Five) Understanding Church Planting	"
8722F	2/7/87	(The Vision Part Six) The People that sit in darkness have seen a	"

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8723F	9/7/87	great light (The Vision Part Seven) The Name of the Lord is a strong Tower	"
8724F	16/7/87	The Election, Calling and Ordination of God	Rev Obeng-Darko
8725F	30/7/87	The Modern Day Golden Calf	"
8726F	6/8/87	Preaching Jesus: The only hope for a dying world	Rev Edwin Donkor
8727F	13/8/87	Don't eat Bread in Bethel	Rev Obeng Darko
8728F	20/8/87	Treating the calling of God as Holy	"
8729F	3/9/87	How to Behave Thyself in God's House	"
8730F	10/9/87	The Importance of the Presence of God	"
8731F	1/10/87	Be careful of what you call Blessing	Rev Mensa Otabil
8732F	15/10/87	The Lord's Harvest	Rev Obeng Darko
8733F	5/11/87	Two Kinds of faith	"

HEALING AND PRAYER SERVICE MESSAGES

PH8701	8/9/87	God, Our Sufficiency	Rev Mensa Otabil
PH8702	15/9/87	How to maintain your healing	"
PH8703	29/9/87	The importance of the Holy Spirit	"
PH8704	13/10/87	The Holy Spirit Baptism	"
PH8705	3/11/87	Our Confidence is in God	"
PH8706	10/11/87	Sensitivity to the Holy Spirit	"

CAMP MEETING '87 THEME: THE SUPERNATURAL

CM8701	26/12/87	Great rain & Faster running	Rev Obeng-Darko
CM8702	27/12/87	The abundance of rain	"
CM8703	27/12/87	How to operate by your Spirit	Rev M. Essel
CM8704	28/12/87	The fire of the Lord	Rev. T. Yarboi
CM8705	28/12/87	Miracles, signs & wonders	Rev Charles Asare
CM8706	29/12/87		Rev Obeng-Darko
CM8707	29/12/87	Kingdom Vision	Rev Mensa Otabil
CM8708	30/12/87	How to deal with Satan	Rev Charles Asare

		& Demons	
CM8709	30/12/87	Don't Break your ranks	Rev Mensa Otobil
CM8710	30/12/87	Grabbing the Supernatural	Rev Charles Asare
CM8711	31/12/87	Relationship with God	Rev Ollels
CM8712	31/12/87	Enlarge your tents	Rev. Mensa Otobil

1987 MEN'S WEEK MESSAGES

87/MW/01	25/5/87	The Unique Man	Rev Mensa Otobil
87/MW/02	28/5/87	The successful Christian Businessman	Rev W. Defeamakpor

1987 YOUTH WEEK MESSAGES

87/YW/01	20/7/87	The Single Youth	Rev Mensa Otobil
87/YW/02	21/7/87	The Call to Leadership	Rev Richard Donkor
87/YW/03	22/7/87	God's way of choosing a Marriage partner	Rev Edwin Donkor

LADIES WEEK MESSAGES

LW/8701	26/10/87	The Virtuous Woman	Rev Mensa Otobil
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OPEN BIBLE SEMINARS

OBS/8701	24/11/87	Seeing yourself after the Spirit	Rev Obeng-Darko
OBS/8702	25/11/87	Knowing God as your father	"
OBS/8703	26/11/87	The Manifestations of the Sons of God	"

SUNDAY CHURCH MESSAGES

8701	4/1/87	Look up	Rev Mensa Otobil
8702	11/1/87	The Spirit of Excellence	"

COVENANT SERIES

8703	18/1/87	The Old and New	Rev Mensa Otobil
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		Covenants	
8704	25/1/87	Four levels of Relationship between God and Man	"
8705	1/2/87	The Gift of Righteousness	"
8706	8/2/87	Jesus Christ our High Priest	"
8707	15/2/87	Covenant Rights	"
8708	22/2/87	Peace, Prayer and Prosperity	"
8709	8/3/87	Marriage, an institution ordained by God	"
8710	15/3/87	Able ministers of the New Testament	"
8711	22/3/87	Covenant Families	"
8712	29/3/87	Responsibility in the Church of God (Of Minsters and the Flock) I	Rev Edwin Donkor
8713	5/4/87	Responsibility in the Church of God (Of Ministers and the Flock) II	"
8714	12/4/87	Evangelism Motivation	Rev Eric Kwapong
8715	19/4/87	The Glory of God	Rev Obeng-Darko
8716	26/4/87	Obedience to God: The way to His Blessings	Rev Edwin Donkor
8717	3/5/87	Victory in the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ	"
8718	10/5/87	Joint Heirs in Marriage	Rev. Mensa Otabil

SUCCESS AND PROSPERITY SERIES

8719	17/5/87	The reason for Prosperity	Rev Mensa Otabil
8720	24/5/87	Power to get wealth	"
8721	7/6/87	Treading on serpents & scorpions	Rev Obeng-Darko
8722	14/6/87	The God of increase	Rev Mensa Otabil
8723	21/6/87	Productivity	"
8724	28/6/87	Four Laws of Prosperity: Excel & Expand	"
8725	5/7/87	Four Laws of Prosperity: Replenish with His Glory	"
8726	12/7/87	Four Laws of Prosperity: Subdue	"
8727	19/7/87	How to open and operate a Heavenly Bank Account	"

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8728	26/7/87	Honouring God with our Firstfruits	"
8729	9/8/87	The Good Steward	"
8730	16/8/87	How to reap the seed sown	"
8731	23/8/87	Words of Wisdom	"
8732	30/8/87	The role of the New Testament Church	Dr. Kingsley Fletcher
8933	6/9/87	Who has believed our report	Rev Mensa Otabil
8734	13/9/87	The Mystery of the seven Churches: First Love	"
8735	20/9/87	The Doctrine of Balaam	"
8736	27/9/87	The Doctrine of Jezebel	"
8737	4/10/87	Having a name alive, but yet dead	"
8738	11/10/87	When God opens no man can shut	"
8739	18/10/87	The Lukewarm Church	"
8740	25/10/87	Living the faith Life	Rev Obeng-Darko
8741	1/11/87	Tithes and Offerings	"
8742	8/11/87	The size of what you give to God	"
8743	15/11/87	Understanding Law and Grace	Rev Mensa Otabil
8744	22/11/87	The sufficiency of God's Grace	"
8745	29/11/87	1. The Unchanging Christ 2. Pattern your life after the Word of God	Rev Obeng-Darko
8746	6/12/87	God's Law on sowing and reaping	"
8747	13/12/87	Establishment of the House of the Lord	Rev Eric Kwapong

DISCIPLESHIP CLASS 87/88

DC8701	21/11/87	Introduction to Discipleship Class	Rev Obeng-Darko
DC8702	28/11/87	The Authority of the Word of God	"
DC8703	5/12/87	Faith Towards God	"
DC8704	12/12/87	Repentance from Dead works	"
DC8705	19/12/87	Doctrine of Baptism	"
DC8806	9/1/88	Laying on of hands	"
DC8807	23/1/88	Resurrection of the Dead	"
DC8808	30/1/88	Eternal Judgement	"

DC8809	6/2/88	Fellowship	"
DC8810	20/2/88	Interpretation of the Bible	"

1988 SUNDAY WORSHIP SERVICE MESSAGES

WS8801	3/1/88	Don't be contained	Rev Mensa Otabil
WS8802	10/1/88	How big is your God	"
WS8803	17/1/88	Power in agreement	"
WS8804	24/1/88	Covenant Relationship	"
WS8805	31/1/88	Having the Mind of Christ	Rev. Obeng-Darko
WS8806	7/2/88		Rev Mensa Otabil
WS8807	14/2/88	The Church as Army of God	"
WS8808	21/2/88	Corporate Prosperity	"
WS8809	6/3/88	1. In His Chamber	Rev. Lyle Olels
		2. Rise up my Love	"
WS8810	13/3/88	Having a Vision	Rev. Mensa Otabil
WS8811	20/3/88	Evangelism; Go and Compel them	Rev Charles Asare
WS8812	27/3/88	Understanding the New Birth	Rev Mensa Otabil
WS8813	3/4/88	Resurrection Power	"
WS8814	10/4/88	Building a successful Mental Attitude	"
WS8815	17/4/88	The Renewed Mind	"
WS8816	24/4/88	Putting off and Putting on	"
WS8817	1/5/88	Dress it and keep it	"
WS8818	8/5/88	Keys to a successful work	Rev W. Defeamakpor
WS8819	15/5/88	Prayer a vital key to success	Rev. E. Donkor
WS8820	22/5/88	God's order for Divine Things	Rev. Eric Kwapong
WS8821	29/5/88	The New Covenant	Rev Charles Asare
WS8822	5/6/88	Covenant Relationship	Rev Eric Kwapong
WS8823	12/6/88	Jesus our Passover Feast	"
WS8824	26/6/88	Jesus Christ our Advocate	Rev Mensa Otabil
WS8825	3/7/88	Jesus Christ Our Shepherd	"
WS8826	10/7/88	The Ministry of the Holy Spirit	"
WS8827	17/7/88	Ye are the Temple of the Lord	"
WS8828	24/7/88	Not by might nor by power	"
WS8829	31/7/88	Our Communion with the Holy Spirit	"

WS8830	7/8/88	The seal of the Holy Spirit	"
WS8831	14/8/88	The Gift of the Holy Spirit	"
WS8832	21/8/88	Authority in the Name of Jesus	"
WS8833	4/9/88	El Shaddai Giver of Fruitfulness	Rev Obeng-Darko
WS8834	11/9/88	El-Elyone the Possessor of Heaven & Earth	"
WS8835	18/9/88	Jehovah Jireh Our Provider	"
WS8836	25/9/88	The New Creation	Rev Mensa Otabil
WS8837	2/10/88	The Believer's Inheritance	"
WS8838	9/10/88	El-Olam the Everlasting God	Rev Obeng-Darko
WS8839	16/10/88	Jehovah-Sabbaoth the Lord of Hosts	"
WS8840	23/10/88	The Purpose of God's Calling	Rev W. Defeamakpor
WS8841	30/10/88	Being Blameless before God	"
WS8842	6/11/88	Walking in Divine Love	"
WS8843	13/11/88	Walking in the Spirit I	Rev Mensa Otabil
WS8844	20/11/88	Walking in the Spirit II	"
WS8845	27/11/88	The Significance of the Lord's Table	"
WS8846	4/12/88	Walking in the Spirit III	"
WS8847	11/12/88	The Presence of God	Rev Obeng-Darko

THURSDAY TEACHING SERVICE MESSAGES

TS8801	7/1/88	The Power of God	Rev. Obeng-Darko
TS8802	15/1/88	Breaking of Ancestral Spirits	"
TS8803	29/1/88	The need to have a vision	Evan Gracious Awoye
TS8804	4/2/88	How you can be healed	Rev. Obeng-Darko
TS8805	11/2/88	The need to consecrate yourselves	"
TS8806	18/2/88	Consecrate yourself to the Will of God	"
TS8807	10/3/88	God's idea about Woman	Rev Mensa Otabil
TS8808	17/3/88	The importance of Pauline Epistles	Rev. Obeng-Darko
TS8809	31/3/88	Understanding the Death of Christ	"
TS8810	7/4/88	In Christ Realities	"
TS8811	14/4/88	Boldness in Christ	"

TS8812	21/4/88	Jesus Our Confidence in Christ	"
TS8813	28/4/88	Jesus Our Redemption in Christ	"
TS8814	5/5/88	Jesus Redemption Consciousness	"
TS8815	12/5/88	Planning towards a successful work	Rev. W. Defeamakpor
TS8816	2/6/88	Unveiling the Spirit Man I	Rev Michael Essel
TS8817	9/6/88	Unveiling the Spirit Man II	"
TS8818	16/6/88	How your Spirit Uses Knowledge	"
TS8819	23/6/88	How to listen to your Spirit	"
TS8820	30/6/88	Death and Life in our Spirit	"
TS8821	7/7/88	Operating By Your Spirit	"
TS8822			
TS8823	21/7/88	Our Translation into God's kingdom	Rev Obeng-Darko
TS8824	4/8/88	Our Peace in Christ	"
TS8825	11/8/88	Our joy in Christ	"
TS8826	25/8/88	The Gifts of the Holy Ghost	Rev Mensa Otobil
TS8827	29/9/88	Jehovah-Nissi the Lord Our Banner	Rev Obeng-Darko
TS8828	6/10/88	Keeping your Spirit Strong	Bishop B. Hawkson
TS8829	24/11/88	The Prevailing Church	Rev Mensa Otobil

BUSINESS COMMUNITY MESSAGES

BC8801	12/3/88	God's Will for you is Sucess	Rev Mensa Otobil
BC8802	15/4/88	Paying a price for your success	"

SUCCESS MOTIVATION SCHOOL SERIES

SMS8801	2/5/88	Discovering the Gift in You	Rev Mensa Otobil
SMS8802	3/5/88	Developing the Gift in You	"
SMS8803	4/5/88	Replenish the Earth	"

SMS8804	5/5/88	Subdue the Earth	"
SMS8805	6/5/88	Overcoming Your Fear	"
SMS8806	27/6/88	How to have a vision	Rev Mensa Otobil
SMS8807	28/6/88	How to set Goals	"
SMS8808	29/6/88	Pursue, Overtake and Recover	"
SMS8809	30/6/88	Ten positive steps to Your success	"
SMS8810	12/12/88	Excellence of Wisdom	"
SMS8811	13/12/88	Having a vision	"
SMS8812	14/12/88	Attaining Your Vision	"
SMS8813	15/12/88	Increase and Possess	"

CAMPMEETING '88

CM8801	26/12/88	This Valley shall be filled
CM8802	26/12/88	The zeal of God's House
CM8803	27/12/88	Knowing God
CM8804	27/12/88	
CM8805	28/12/88	Riches of His Glory
CM8806	28/12/88	Experiencing the Glory of God
CM8807	29/12/88	Wisdom and Glory in the Church
CM8808	29/12/88	God's Purpose for your life
CM8809	30/12/88	Staying Power
CM8810	30/12/88	Faith the Key to God's Glory
CM8811	31/12/88	Why God Heals
CM8812	31/12/88	

SUNDAY WORSHIP SERVICE '89

WS8901	8/1/89	Having a Mind to Work	Rev. Dr. M. Otobil
WS8902	15/1/89	Principles of Obedience	Rev Eric Kwapong
WS8903	29/1/89	Coporate Obedience	"
WS8904	5/2/89	The Price of His Life	"
WS8905	12/2/89	Eternal Life	Rev. Dr. M. Otobil
WS8906	19/2/89	Walking in the Light I	"
WS8907	26/2/89	Words of Wisdom	"
WS8908	5/3/89	Walking in the Light II	"
WS8909	12/3/89	The Fruit of the Spirit	"
WS8910	19/3/89	Because He lives I will Live	"
WS8911	26/3/89	Isaiah 53	"
WS8912	2/4/89	The Good Samaritan	"
WS8913	9/4/89	Remember Lots Wife	"
WS8914	16/4/89	Overcoming Temptation	"
WS8915	23/4/89	The Power of Positive Desire I	"
WS8916	30/4/89	The Power of Positive Desire II	"
WS8917	7/5/89	The Power of Positive	"

WS8918	14/5/89	Desire III Healing the Broken Hearted I	"
WS8919	21/5/89	Healing the Broken Hearted II	"
WS8920	28/5/89	Godliness and Gain I	"
WS8921	4/6/89	Godliness and Gain II	"
WS8922	11/6/89	The Blessing of Abraham I	"
WS8923	18/6/89	The Blessing of Abraham II	"
WS8924	25/6/89	The Blessing of Abraham III	"
WS8925	2/7/89		
WS8926	9/7/89	Denying Yourself	"
WS8927	16/7/89	Following After the Lord I	"
WS8928	23/7/89	Following After the Lord II	"
WS8929	30/7/89	God Rules in the Affairs of Men	"
WS8930	6/8/89	Five Steps to Answered Prayer	"
WS8931	13/8/89	God is for you	Rev Obeng-Darko
WS8932	20/8/89	God is with us	"
WS8933	27/8/89	God is in you	"
WS8934	3/9/89		"
WS8935	10/9/89	Reward for Serving the Lord	Rev. E. Kwapong
WS8936	17/9/89	Thanksgiving	"
WS8937	24/9/89	The Blood Covenant	"
WS8938	1/10/89	The Faithful Stewardship	"
WS8939	8/10/89	Be Strong in the Lord	Rev. G. Awoye
WS8940	15/10/89	Jesus is coming Again	"
WS8941	22/10/89	The Healthy Church I	Rev E. Kwapong
WS8942	29/10/89	The Healthy Church II	"
WS8943	5/11/89	The Joy of the Lord I	"
WS8944	12/11/89	The Joy of the Lord II	"
WS8945	19/11/89	Run to Obtain	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
WS8946	26/11/89	Restoration I	"
WS8947	3/12/8	Restoration II	"
WS8948	10/12/89	The Power of the Spoken Word I	"
WS8949	17/12/89	God's Covenant with You	Rev Obeng-Darko

TEACHING SERVICE 1989

TS8901	19/1/89	The Law of Faith	Rev Obeng-Darko
TS8902	26/1/89	Calling the Things Which Be Not	"
TS8903	7/2/89	Faith in Little Places	"

TS8904	14/2/89	Having Faith in Your Faith	"
TS8905	28/2/89	Mountain Moving Faith	"
TS8906	7/3/89	Faith and Desires I	"
TS8907	14/3/89	Six Steps to Receive Your Desires	"
TS8908	28/3/89	Faith and Desires II	"
TS8909	4/4/89	Faith Neutralizers I	"
TS8910	11/4/89	Faith Neutralizers II	"
TS8911	25/4/89		
TS8912	2/5/89	Walking with God	Rev Gracious Awoye
TS8913	9/5/89	Faith will not Disgrace You	Rev Obeng-Darko
TS8914	16/5/89	Stepping out in Faith	"
TS8915	23/5/89	Taking What Belong to You I	"
TS8916	30/5/89	Taking What Belong to You II	"
TS8917	6/6/89		
TS8918	13/6/89	Long-Life Belong to Us	"
TS8919	27/6/89	Victory Over our Enemies	"
TS8920	4/7/89	The name of Jesus Belong to Us	"
TS8921	11/7/89	Greatness in the Name of Jesus I	"
TS8922	18/7/89	Greatness in the Name of Jesus II	"
TS8923	25/7/89	The Use of the Name of Jesus	"
TS8924	1/8/89	Satan, Demons and Evil Spirit I	"
TS8925	8/8/89	Satan, Demons and Evil Spirit II	"
TS8926	15/8/89	Activities and Operation of Evil Spirits I	"
TS8927	22/8/89	Activities and Operation of Evil Spirits II	"
TS8928	5/9/89	The Deliverance Ministry	"
TS8929	12/9/89	Whole Armour of God I	Rev Gracious Awoye
TS8930	26/9/89		"
TS8931	10/10/89	Sharing, Caring and Loving	Rev Obeng-Darko
TS8932	17/10/89	Courage and Encouragement I	"
TS8933	24/10/89	Courage and Encouragement II	"
TS8934	31/10/89	Running Through a Troop	"
TS8935	7/11/89	Taking Hold of God	"
TS8936	14/11/89	Stir-Up the Gift of God in You	"
TS8937	21/11/89	The Word of God Works	"
TS8938	5/12/89		Rev Gracious Awoye

CAMPMEETING "89" MESSAGE

CM8901	26/12/89	He Brought us out, To Bring Us In I	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
CM8902	27/12/89		Rev. Isaac Quaye
CM8903	27/12/89	To contend or to Compromise	Bishop Bob Hawkson
CM8904	27/12/89	Following the Faith of Abraham I	Rev Michael Essel
CM8905	28/12/89	The Prophetic Generation	Rev Tackie-Yarboi
CM8906	28/12/89	Knowing our Time	Rev. Edwin Otabil
CM8907	28/12/89	Following the Faith of Abraham II	Rev Michael Essel
CM8908	29/12/89	Prayer & Deliverance in the Church	Rev W. Defeamakpor
CM8909	29/12/89	Leadership	Bishop Bob Hawkson
CM8910	29/12/89	He Brought Us Out, To Bring Us In II	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
CM8911	30/12/89	The Favour of God	Rev. Michael Essel
CM8912	30/12/89	The Power of Holiness	Rev J. Garshong
CM8913	30/12/89	Knowing God	Rev Gracious Awoye
CM8914	31/12/89	Continuing with the Lord	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil

SUNDAY WORSHIP SERVICE 1990

WS9001	14/1/90	Power of the Spoken Word II	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
WS9002	21/1/90	Maintianing Your Confession	"
WS9003	28/1/90	The Chastisement of the Lord	"
WS9004	4/2/90	Obedience is Better than Sacrifice	"
WS9005	11/2/90	Growing-Up Spiritually I	Rev. Eric Kwamong
WS9006	18/2/90	Growing-Up Spiritually II	"
WS9007	25/2/90	Special Anniversary Message	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
WS9008	4/3/90	Three Things You Should Always Remember	"
WS9009	11/3/90	Who The Spirit Is	"
WS9010	18/3/90	Spiritual Death	"
W2S9011	25/3/90	The Voice of the Spirit I	"
WS9012	1/4/90	The True Worship	Rev. Eric Kwamong
WS9013	8/4/90	The Voice of the Spirit II	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
WS9014	15/4/90	There is Hope for Your Future	"

WS9015	22/4/90	No Condemnation	"
WS9016	29/4/90	God Our Father	Rev. Eric Kwapong
WS9017	6/5/90	Angels and Their Origin	Rev. Obeng-Darko
WS9018	13/5/90	Fellowship of the Holy Spirit	Rev. Eric Kwapong
WS9019	20/5/90	Prevailing over Evil Days	Rev Edwin Donkor
WS9020	3/6/90	Purpose	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
WS9021	10/6/90	Be Fruitful	"
WS9022	17/6/90	Multiply	"
WS9023	1/7/90	Replenish the Earth	"
WS9024	8/7/90	Subdue the Earth I	"
WS9025	15/7/90	Subdue the Earth II	"
WS9026	22/7/90	Growing into the Image of God I	"
WS9027	29/7/90	Growing into the Image of God II	"
WS9028	5/8/90	Growing in Love I	"
WS9029	12/8/90	Holding on to the Word	"
WS9030	19/8/90	Growing in Love II	"
WS9031	26/8/90	The Significance of the Lord's Table	"
WS9032	2/9/90	Times and Seasons	Rev. Obeng-Darko
WS9033	9/9/90	God's Season for Individuals I	"
WS9034	16/9/90	God's Seasons for Individuals II	"
WS9035	23/9/90	Making Your Personal Memorial	"
WS9036	14/10/90	Your Obedience and Humanity	"
WS9037	21/10/90	Your Works Shall Be Revealed	Rev Edwin Donkor
WS9038	28/10/90	Arise and Eat	"
WS9039	4/11/90	Redeeming the Time	Rev Obeng-Darko
WS9040	11/11/90	Bring Forth Abundantly I	"
WS9041	18/11/90	Bring Forth Abundantly II	"
WS9042	25/11/90	Endurance	"
WS9043	2/12/90	Obtaining the Promise	"
WS9044	9/12/90	Hold the Dream I	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
WS9045	16/12/90	Hold the Dream II	"
WS9046	23/12/90	Unto Us a Son is Given	"

TUESDAY TEACHING SERVICE 1990

TS9001	16/1/90	Leaving Your Egypt	Rev. Obeng-Darko
TS9002	23/1/90	Our Deliverance from Egypt I	"
TS9003	30/1/90	Our Deliverance from Egypt II	"

TS9004	6/2/90	Feeding on the Lamb I	"
TS9005	13/2/90	Having a Consistent Devotional Life	"
TS9006	20/2/90	Forming Bible Study Habit I	"
TS9007	6/3/90	Fasting I	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
TS9008	13/3/90	Fasting II	"
TS9009	20/3/90	Covering of Head	"
TS9010	3/4/90	Understanding the Sabbath	"
TS9011	17/4/90	Forming Bible Study Habit II	Rev. Obeng-Darko
TS9012	24/4/90		
TS9013	8/5/90	Classes of Angels I	"
TS9014	29/5/90	The Land of Goshen	Rev Gracious Awoye
TS9015	5/6/90	Classes of Angels II	Rev. Obeng-Darko
TS9016	12/6/90	The Ministries of Angels I	"
TS9017	19/6/90	The Ministries of Angels II	"
TS9018	3/7/90	The Present Truth	"
TS9019	10/7/90		
TS9020	17/7/90	Bearing Precious Seed	"
TS9021	31/7/90	Time and Purpose I	"
TS9022	7/8/90	Time and Purpose II	"
TS9023	14/8/90	Time and Purpose III	"
TS9024	11/9/90	Knowing the Will of God	Rev. Ekow Eshun
TS9025	18/9/90	Our Inheritance in Christ	"
TS9026	25/9/90	Possessing Your Soul	Rev. Ricky Donkor
TS9027	2/10/90	The Covenant of Blessing	Rev. Charles Sarpong
TS9028	6/11/90	He Brought us Out, to Bring us in I	Rev Gracious Awoye
TS9029	13/11/90	He Brought us Out, to Bring us in II	"
TS9030	4/12/90	In All Your Getting, Get Wisdom	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
TS9031	11/12/90	The Foundations of Life I	"

CAMPMEETING '90 MESSAGES

CM9001	27/12/90	Time to Build the House of God	Rev. Michael Essel
CM9002	27/12/90	Drawing on His Mercies	Rev. W. Defeamakpor
CM9003	27/12/90	The Visitation of the Lord	Rev. Obeng-Darko
CM9004	28/12/90	Return to Our Root	Rev. Tackie-Yarboi
CM9005	28/12/90	The Gospel of Jesus	Rev R. Ampiah-Kwofie

CM9006	28/12/90	The Inheritance of the Blackman I & II	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
CM9007	29/12/90	Keeping the Blessing of the Visitation	Rev. Edwin Donkor
CM9008	29/12/90	The Move of God & The Next Generation	Rev Obeng-Darko
CM9009	30/12/90	Integrity in the Move of God	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
CM9010	30/12/90	Don't be Afraid, Only Believe	Rev Michael Essel

SUNDAY WORSHIP SERVICE 1991

WS9101	13/1/91	The Mandate of the Gospel	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
WS9102	20/1/91	The Mission of the Gospel	"
WS9103	27/1/91	The Confirmation of the Gospel I	"
WS9104	3/2/91	The Confirmation of the Gospel II	"

THE LORDS PRAYER SERIES

WS9105	10/2/91	Our Father Who Art in Heaven	"
WS9106	17/2/91	Thy Kingdom Come	"
WS9107	3/3/91	Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread	"
WS9108	10/3/91	Forgive us Our Debts	"
WS9109	17/3/91	Lead Us Not Into Temptation	"
WS9110	24/3/91	For Thine is the Kingdom the Power & Glory	"
WS9111	7/4/91	Taking your Jericho I	"
WS9112	14/4/91	Taking your Jericho II	"
WS9113	21/4/91	Principles of Faith I	"
WS9114	28/4/91	Principles of Faith II	"
WS9115	5/5/91	Mountain Moving Faith	"
WS9116	12/5/91	Calling the Things Which Be Not	"
WS9117	19/5/91	Slaying the Giant	"
WS9118	26/5/91	Discerning the Body of Christ	"
WS9119	2/6/91	Faith Vrs Works	"
WS9120	9/6/91	Overcoming the World	"
WS9121	16/6/91	Faith Worketh By Love	"
WS9122	23/6/91	Things Hoped For	"
WS9123	30/6/91	The Unchanging God	Rev. E. Kwapong
WS9124	7/7/91	The Father's Glory	"

WS9125	14/7/91	Walking in the Father's Glory	"
WS9126	21/7/91	The Believer's Sacrifice	Rev. Obeng-Darko
WS9127	28/7/91	Broken for Service	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil

UNVEILING THE HOLY SPIRIT SERIES

WS9128	11/8/91	The Out Pouring of the Holy Spirit	Rev. Obeng-Darko
WS9129	18/8/91	Swimming in the River of God	"
WS9130	25/8/91	The Ministry of the Holy Spirit	"
WS9131	1/9/91	The Joy of the Holy Spirit	"
WS9132	8/9/91	The Power of the Holy Spirit	"
WS9133	15/9/91	The Manifestation of the Holy Spirit I	"
WS9134	22/9/91	The Manifestation of the Holy Spirit II	"
WS9135	29/9/91	The Working of Miracles I	"
WS9136	6/10/91	The Working of Miracles II	"
WS9137	13/10/91	Tongues & Interpretation of Tongues I	"
WS9138	20/10/91	Tongues & Interpretation of Tongues II	"
WS9139	27/10/91	The Gift of Prophecy	"
WS9140	3/11/91	Discerning of Spirits I	"
WS9141	10/11/91	Discerning of Spirits II	"
WS9142	17/11/91	The Gift of Word of Knowledge	"
WS9143	24/11/91	The Gift of Word of Wisdom	"
WS9144	1/12/91	The Gift of Faith	"
WS9145	8/12/91	Responsibility of Freedom	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
WS9146	15/12/91	Having a Cutting Edge	"

TUESDAY TEACHING SERVICE 1991

SPIRITUAL WARFARE SERIES

TS9101	22/1/91	Spiritual Warfare 1	Rev. Obeng-Darko
TS9102	29/1/91	Spiritual Warfare 2	"
TS9103	5/2/91	Double Kingdom Rule 1	"
TS9104	12/2/91	Double Kingdom Rule 2	"

TS9105	19/2/91	How Satan Wages His Warfare	"
TS9106	5/3/91	Satan & The World Religions 1	"
TS9107	12/3/91	Satan & The World Religions 2	"
TS9108	19/3/91	Satan & The World Religions 3	"
TS9109	2/4/91	Satan & The World Politics 1	"
TS9110	9/4/91	Satan & The World Politics 2	"
TS9111	16/4/91	Giving of Thanks	"

THE BELIEVER'S ARMOUR

TS9112	23/4/91	The Armour of the Believer	"
TS9113	7/5/91	Praise in Spiritual Warfare	Rev. E. Kwapong
TS9114	14/5/91	The Breastplate of Righteousness 1	Rev. Obeng-Darko
TS9115	28/5/91	The Breastplate of Righteousness 2	"
TS9116	4/6/91	Your feet shod in the Gospel of Peace	Rev. Obeng-Darko
TS9117	11/6/91	The Shield of Faith 1	"
TS9118	18/6/91	The Shield of Faith 2	"
TS9119	25/6/91	The Helmet of Salvation 1	"
TS9120	2/7/91	The Helmet of Salvation 2	"
TS9121	9/7/91	The Sword of the Spirit	"
TS9122	16/7/91	Praying with all Prayers	"
TS9123	23/7/91	Praying to get Results	"

UNVEILING THE HOLY SPIRIT SERIES

TS9124	6/8/91	Who The Holy Spirit is	Rev Obeng-Darko
TS9125	12/8/91	Maintaining Spirit Filled Life	"
TS9126	3/9/91	The Christian and Suffering 1	Rev. K. Larbi
TS9127	10/9/91	The Christian and Suffering 2	
TS9128	17/9/91	In Christ Realities	Rev. M. Appiah
TS9129	24/9/91	Ethiopia Shall Soon Lift Up her Hands	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
TS9130	22/10/91	Overcoming Your Disappointment	Rev. G. Awoye
TS9131	29/10/91	The Effect of your	"

		Childhood	
TS9132	12/11/91	Renewing the Mind 1	"
TS9133	19/11/91	Renewing the Mind 2	"

CMAPMEETING 91 MESSAGES

CM9101	26/12/91	The Rising of A New Generation	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
CM9102	27/12/91	Responsibility of the New Generation	Rev. M. Essel
CM9103	27/12/91	A Troop is coming	Rev. O. Achiaw
CM9104	27/12/91	Purpose for the New Generation	Rev. Obeng-Darko
CM9105	28/12/91	When God Calls	Rev. Dr. T. Adeyemo
CM9106	28/12/91	Purpose for Government & Law	Rev. Bertril Baird
CM9107	29/12/91	When God Builds a Nation	"
CM9108	29/12/91	Destiny for the New Generation	Rev. Obeng-Darko
CM9109	30/12/91	God is up to Something	Rev. Dr. D. Williams
CM9110	30/12/91	Africa in the Year 2000	Rev. Dr. T. Adeyemo

SUNDAY WORSHIP SERVICE 1992

WS9201	12/01/92
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THE BELIEVER'S MINISTRY

WS9202	19/01/92	The Sacrifice of Praise	
WS9203	26/01/92	Presenting your Body	
WS9204	2/02/92	Ministering one to Another	
WS9205	9/02/92	Edifying one another	
WS9206	16/02/92	Caring as a worship To God	Rev. E. Kwapong
WS9207	23/02/92	Investing your life in God's Kingdom	"
WS9208	8/03/92	Running with the Message	Rev Dr. M. Otabil
WS9209	22/03/92	Ministering to the World	"
WS9210	5/04/92	His Witnesses	"
WS9211	19/04/92	The Evidence He is Alive	Rev. E. Kwapong
WS9212	26/04/92	Bearing the Marks of Christ	"
WS9213	3/05/92	Who shall roll away the	Rev Obeng-Darko

TS9201	14/01/92	New Wine for New Wine Skin	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
TS9202	21/01/92		
TS9203	28/01/92		
TS9204	4/02/92		
TS9205	11/02/92	Go over this Jordan	Rev Obeng-Darko
TS9206	18/02/92	Keeping your earnest Expectation	Rev E. Kwapong
TS9207	3/03/92	From the wall to the Fountain	Rev Russ Tatro
TS9208	17/03/92	A called out people 1	Rev. E. Kwapong
TS9209	24/03/92	A called out people 2	Rev. E. Kwapong
TS9210	7/04/92	A called out people 3	Rev. E. Kwapong
TS9211	14/04/92	The Power of confession	Rev Yaw Annor
TS9212	5/05/92	The Most Attacked Institution	Rev Dan Jenkins
TS9213	12/05/92	Divorce	"
TS9214	19/05/92	The Christian Home	"
TS9215	9/06/92	Taking the Kingdom	Rev Obeng-Darko
TS9216	16/06/92	A Year of Jubilee	Rev. K. Okyere
TS9217	23/06/92	Work ordained by God	Rev W. Defeamakpor
TS9218	30/06/92	Faith for Productive work	"
TS9219	7/07/92	The Mystery of the Good news	Rev Obeng-Darko
TS9220	21/07/92	The Heathen for our Possession	Rev. Ampiah Kwofie
TS9221	4/08/92	The Act of Marriage	Dr. S. Ablorh
TS9222	11/08/92	Marriage, A Life Time Blessing	Bro. G. Bamfo
TS9223	18/08/92	Singleness, Positive mean to God Purpose	Ms. F. Yeboah
TS9224	1/09/92	Maintaining your Joy	Rev. G. Awoye
TS9225	15/09/92	Growth	Rev Dr. M. Otabil

OPEN BIBLE SEMINAR 1992

OBS9201	10/3/92	In the Breaking of This Bread	Rev F ebransin
OBS9202	11/3/92	New Beginnings 1 & 2	"
OBS9203	12/3/92	Filling the Earth with Glory	"
OBS9204	2/6/92	Walking in the Supernatural	Rev Abeka-John
OBS9205	3/6/92	First Things First	Rev Dr. Heward-Mills
OBS9206	4/6/92	Meditation is the Way to Success	Rev Tackie Yarboi
OBS9207	8/9/92	God working in our Day	Rev A. Wutawunashe
OBS9208	9/9/92	God working in our Day	"
OBS9209	10/9/92	God working in our Day	"
OBS9210	3/12/92	The Power & The	Dr. Myles Munroe

		Priority of Purpose	
OBS9211	4/12/92	Nobody Knows you 1 & 2	"
OBS9212	5/12/92	The Power of Potential	"

TUESDAY TEACHING SERVICE 1993

TS9301	12/1/93	The Power of God	Rev. Obeng-Darko
TS9302	26/1/93	Tasting the Powers to Come 1	"
TS9303	2/2/93	Tasting the Powers to Come 2	"
TS9304	23/2/93	New Testament Sacrifice 1	"
TS9305	2/3/93	New Testament Sacrifice 2	"
TS9306	9/3/93	New Testament Sacrifice 3	"
TS9307	23/3/93	Foundation for Worship 3	Rev. Eric Kwapong
TS9308	6/4/93	The Principle of N.T. Worship	"
TS9309	13/4/93	Forms of Worship - Vocal Expression	"
TS9310	25/5/93	Fellowship with one Another	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MONTH

TS9311	1/6/93	Attitude Towards Success	Rev. Dr. M. Otabil
TS9312	8/6/93	Principles for Successful Ventures	Mr. K. Darko
TS9313	15/6/93	The Nkulenu Business Story	Dr. E. Ocloo
TS9314	22/6/93	Challenges of Successful Business	Rev. W. Defeamakpor
TS9315	29/6/93	Economic Realities & Business Today	Mr. Ismael Yamson
TS9316	6/7/93	Reaching Our Children Today	Rev. R. Mensah
TS9317	13/7/93	Missionary Minded	Dr. S. Ayithey

OPEN BIBLE SEMINAR 1993

OBS9301	20/07/93	Reaching the Nations	Rev. G. Awoye
OBS9302	21/07/93		Rev. C. Annor

OBS9303	22/07/93	The Church & Challenges of Missions	Rev. F. Amoako
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FAMILY MONTH SEMINAR

FM9301	3/08/93	Parenting	Dr. M. Otabil
FM9302	10/08/93	Fruitfulness in Singlehood	Mr. G. Bamfo
FM9303	17/08/93	The Challenges of the Marriage Man	Mr. R. Crabbe
FM9304	24/08/93	The Challenges of Modern Woman	Mrs. G. Ababio

BIBLIOGRAPHY
&
ORAL SOURCES

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND NOTES ON ORAL SOURCES

PRIMARY SOURCES

A: ORAL EVIDENCE (TRADITIONAL)

My own personal experience as one born and bred in Akan traditional society. I was exposed to various aspects of the Traditional religion from infancy. These include visits to local cults and their shrines, consultations with traditional priests, various ritual baths to secure personal and family security and immunity against attacks from evil powers.

B: ORAL EVIDENCE (CHRISTIAN)

1. **Spiritual Church:** My personal experience here include consultations with some prophets and prophetesses of certain spiritual churches. I participated and observed various healing services and the attendant rituals.

2. **Pentecostal Church:** Baptised into an evangelical Pentecostal church in 1974. I have since then been associating with the Pentecostal movement. I have been involved in various activities of the movement as a participant and as an observer. My personal experience with the movement in July 1993 to 3rd October 1993, during the final part of my field work, include the impressionistic interpretations of a participant observer as I joined in church services and other activities of the Ghana Pentecostal Council, Church of Pentecost, International Central Gospel Church, Fountain of Life Mission, and Divine Healer's Church.

C: DISCUSSIONS AND INTERVIEWS

JULY 1993

- Elder E.K. Dankwa, General Services Manager, COP 7.7.93
- Elder J.W. Asare, the first Financial Secretary and office manager of Church of Pentecost (now with GPC) 7.7.93
- The Revd Rigwell Ato Addison, General Secretary (1988-1993), Church of Pentecost (COP) 8.7.93
- Elder L. Odame-Otoo, General Services Manager, COP 8.7.93
- Rev S.A.K. Karikari, Records Manager, COP 9.7.93
- Rev E.A. Ayisi, General Secretary, GPC 9.9.93

Apostle (Retd.) Mika R. Asamoah, former personal assistant to Anim, later of UPC 10.7.93

Elder David Ofori, Administrative Assistant, GPC 12.7.93

Rev Moses Afful, President, Apostolic Reformed Church 12.7.93

Rev William Obeng Darko, Senior Associate, ICGC, 12 7.93

Pastor E.A. Ayisi, General Secretary, GPC 13.7.93

Rev J.K. Ennumh, former COP Regional Head. 16.7.93

Apostle (Retd.) Mika R. Asamoah, former personal assistant to Anim, later of UPC 17.7.93

Rev Michael Asiedu, COP missionary, Umtata, Transkei, RSA 18.7.93

Rev Moses Afful, President, Apostolic Reformed Church 19.7.93

Mrs Lawson, President, Divine Healers Church 20.7.93

Rev A. Aflah Armah, Vice President, DHC 20.7.93

Apostle R. Acquaaah, Regional Head, COP, B.A. "A" 22.7.93

Apostle S.K. Baidoo, National Leader, COP, Gambia 22.7.93

Deacon Owusu Appiah, General Deacon, CAC 1963-1986 24.7.93

Rev Ekow Eshun, formerly of Kumasi ICGC 24.7.93

The Revd Rigwell Ato Addison, General Secretary (1988-1993), Church of Pentecost (COP) 26.7.93

Rev Dr Amponsah Kuffor, Director of Academic Affairs, COP Bible School 27.7.93

Rev Noble Atsu, Lecturer, COP Bible School, 27.7.93

Rev John Waller, Principal, COP Bible School 27.7.93

Rev Opoku Adipa, Dean, COP Bible School 27.7.93

Apostle D.K. Arnan, Western "A" COP Regional Head; former General Secretary of COP 29.9.93

Elder Adom Yeboah, Manager, Pentecost Social Services 29.7.91

Elder Peter Kyei, Executive member of PENSEA 31.7.93

AUGUST 93.

Rev Aflah and Victoria Tackie, meeting at Divine Healers' Church all-night prayer meeting at Tema Bethlehem Healing Camp 2.8.93

Rev Michael Essel, leader, Grace Outreach Church 4.8.93

Rev Abode Spencer, Grace Outreach Church 5.8.93

Rev Ekow Quaye, formerly of the Four Square G. Ch. 6.8.93

Mr Cephas Narh, Office Manager, ICGC 9.8.93

Rev Dr Osei Bonsu (D.Min), Calvary Baptist Church 11.8.93

Rev Leslie Tex, Christian Action Faith Ministry 12.8.93

Prophet Boahen and Elders of Sepe Prayer Camp, Kumasi 13.8.93

Pastor E. Dadson, ICGC, Kumasi 13.8.93

Elder J. Kwamena Paintsil, Marketing Manger of Asempa (son of J. Egyir-Paintsil, the first General Secretary of COP) 14.8.93

Dr. K. Effa-Ababio, Protestant Chaplain, University of Science and Technology 14.8.93

Rev Agyei Danso and the Presbytery of Suhum COP Central Church 15.8.93

Prophet Daniel K Mintah and Elders of Okanta Prayer Camp 15.8.93

Elder Asare Kwabi, Secretary, Okanta Prayer Camp 15.8.93

Mr Elvis Nyarko, Evangelism leader, Legon Catholic Charismatic Renewal, Legon, Ghana (LCCR) 15.8.93

Mrs Philomena Nortey, Co-ordinator, LCCR 15.8.93

Rev Albert Amoah, COP General Secretary (1993-1998) 17.8.93

Rev James Saah, Resident Pastor, Christian Action Faith Church, Accra 18.8.93

Rev Godwin Normanyo, leader, Fountain of Life Mission 22.8.93

John A. Larkai, legal advisor, COP and GBC 22.8.93

Rev Godwin Normanyo, leader, Fountain of Life Mission 25.8.93

Dr S.A. Arthur, Medical consultant to COP	25.8.93
Sister Abayaa, one of the leaders of Labadi Prayer Centre	25.8.93
Rev James Saah, Resident Pastor, Christian Action Faith Church, Accra	26.8.93
Rev Eric Kwapong, Senior Associate, ICGC	26.8.93
Apostle Peter Antwi, President, Apostolic Church	26.8.93
Rev Godwin Normanyo and other deliverance ministers of Fountain of Life Mission, at Achimota Forest Deliverance Grounds	28.8.93
Col Caternor (Elder, COP, Labadi)	29.9.93
Elder John Larkai, Legal Advisor to COP	29.8.93
Rev Aflah, Mrs Lawson, Rev Victoria Tackie, and Pastor Addo, and other early leaders and members of Divine Healers Church	30.8.93
Apostle D.K. Saforo, former Chairman of CAC Finance Board, and first youth leader of CAC	31.8.93
Rev Dr John Oduro, founder, Faith Community Baptist Church	31.8.93

SEPTEMBER

Rev Ekuban, Assistant leader of Global Revival Church	1.9.93
Elder Joshua Adjabeng, Managing Director, Pentecost Press	2.9.93
Elder Jonny Mallet, former leader of Bombing Group	2.9.93
S.K. Asare, President, CAC	2.9.93
Rev Agyeman Badu, Manager, Audio-Visuals, COP	3.9.93
Rev L.A. Nyarko, Chairman, Literature Committee (COP)	4.9.93
Prophet Sampson Adu, leader of New Town Prayer C.	4.9.93
Rev E.A. Ayisi, G.S., GPC	7.9.93
Mrs Eunic Addison, former women's leader, COP,	9.9.93
Rev E. Gyasi Addo, Administrative Secretary, COP Missions Department	9.9.93

Apostle Gharthey, Vice President, Apostolic Church	10.9.93
Pastor Otchie, Public Relations Officer, AC	10.9.93
Pastor E.A. Ayisi, General Secretary, GPC	10.9.93
Joseph Osafo Parry, Administrative Officer, SU	16.9.93
Madam Grace Mensah, leader, Edumfa Prayer Camp	18.9.93
Elder John Larkai, Legal Advisor of COP	19.9.93
Some leaders of the New Apostolic Church (non-pentecostal)	19.9.93
Elder Peter Kyei, Executive Member PENSA	19.9.93
Alex Hama, S.U. General Secretary	20.9.93
Rev Peter Ayerakwa, Youth Director, COP	20.9.93
Rev Morris Appiah, District Pastor, ICGC	23.9.93
Rev Dr Mensa Otabil, founder, ICGC	24.9.93
Moses Owusu Antwi, General Manager, Methodist Education Unit	27.9.93
Rev Ralph Djokoto, formerly of the Methodist Church, now with Manna Mission; Proprietor of Rhema Video and Literature, situated at the Methodist Headquarters, Accra	27.9.93
Rev R.M. Bannor, General Supervisor, Four Square Gospel Ch.	27.9.93
Rev Nee Tarchie Yarboi, leader, Victor Bible Church	28.9.93
Elder Joshua Adjabeng, Managing Director, Pentecost Press	28.9.93
Rev Joseph Edumond Kusi Tabiri, Christian Education Director, CAC	30.9.93
H.K. Amponsah, General Deacon, CAC	30.9.9
Rev Dr Evans Riverson, General Secretary of the Methodist Church, Ghana	27.9.93
Rev Dr Mensah Otabil, leader, ICGC	28.9.93
OCTOBER	
Rev Dr Mensah Otabil, leader, ICGC	1.10.93

Abraham Delove, leader, Philadelphia Mission	1.10.93
Rev Seth Abbey, pastor of Aflame for Christ and a former disciple of Delove	1.10.93
Christopher Annor, leader, "Solution Centre"(ICGC)	3.10.93
A.K. Asem, Public Relations Director of Ghana Commercial Bank; founding member of APEA	3.10.93
Rev Agyei Prempeh, Secretary, UPC	3.10.93
Prophet Martinson Yeboah, Chairman, COP	4.9.93
Rev Opoku Onyina, International Missions Director	5.9.93
Rev S.B. Asore, Gen. Supt., Assemblies of God	16.9.93
Florence Larbi, former deaconess of CAC	15.7.94
Rev Kwame Blankson, UK representative of COP	10.8.94

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F. VIDEO RECORDING

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G. UNPUBLISHED WORKS

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B. BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

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